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THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

The Latin American Inner City: A Case Study in Quito, Ecuador

by

Adrienne D. Wiebe

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE

OF MASTER OF ARTS

DEPARTMENT OF GEOGRAPHY

EDMONTON, ALBERTA

FALL, 1986

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.....

Supervisor

.....

.....

Date. 8. August. 1986.

Abstract

This thesis focuses on the relationship between socio-economic context and urban structure in the Latin American city, and more specifically on the character and function of the inner-city zone. A case study block in the inner city of Quito, Ecuador was studied in depth using secondary research, extensive observations, and interview surveys of the building-owners, residents, business-owners, and clients.

The inner city of Quito is an urban zone which forms a ring around the symbolic centre of the city. The physical structure of the inner city was established during the Spanish Colonial period. Until the early decades of the Twentieth Century, this zone was a high status residential and commercial zone. With Ecuador's incorporation into the world capitalist economic system, the city's power centre shifted to a new modern central business district to the north of the former centre. The inner city began to decline in status as the elite residents and businesses moved out. Today the inner city is a low-income residential area and low-status commercial district.

The current organization and function of the inner city need to be analyzed in the context of the two inter-connected economic circuits that exist in Latin America. The upper circuit is modern, capital-intensive, and internationally-oriented, while the lower circuit is a labour-intensive, usually traditional, and locally-oriented.

The large colonial buildings of the inner city are mainly owned by prosperous lower-circuit workers, external landlords interested in rent profits, and businesspeople or "middle-class" people interested in renovating. The buildings have been sub-divided into small units that are rented out for commercial and residential use. Lack of maintenance, and low incomes result in mainly low-quality housing and frequent crowding.

The inner city also functions as one of the main low-income residential areas in the city. The residents include stable, long-time inhabitants as well as a more transient group of temporary workers, students, and recent immigrants. The residents work in the lower-circuit economy as vendors, shopkeepers, and artisans, or in low-level, unskilled, upper-circuit jobs, such as janitors and clerks.

The research also suggests that the inner city functions as the centre of the lower-circuit urban economy. It is the location of most of the city's artisanal production, the city's largest markets, and greatest concentrations of small lower-circuit retail and service shops, and street vendors. Both lower-circuit and upper-circuit goods are sold in the inner city to private customers from all over the city and to vendors buying for resale elsewhere in the city.

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1. Introduction

The central theme of this thesis is the relationship between socio-economic context and urban spatial structure; a subject that is prominent in the research of many urban geographers (eg. Harvey, 1973; Santos, 1979; Soja, 1980). It is generally agreed that cities take different forms in different socio-economic and political settings. Until recently it was assumed that as societies moved from traditional, pre-industrial economies to involvement in the modern, capitalist economy, cities all over the world were evolving in a similar fashion. The process of urbanization taking place in Latin America, and the rest of the Third World was compared to the period of industrialization in developed countries, and it was taken for granted that these cities were progressing towards North American and European models. The hierarchical urban structure of pre-industrial cities (Sjoberg, 1960) based on symbolism and status, with little differentiation of the use of space based on the division of labour and production, was assumed to be evolving into an urban spatial structure based on the need for differentiation of land use and labour for the production and appropriation of a surplus as a part of industrial capitalism. Much of the urban research in Latin America focused on testing the validity of the supposed change from pre-industrial urban patterns to patterns identified in North American cities, such as the Burgess Concentric Zone model and the Hoyt Sector model (eg. Hansen,

1934; Hoyt, 1963; Hauser and Schnore, 1965; Sheck, 1969).

However, research in the last two decades has made it clear "that Latin American cities are not likely to repeat the stages of urban industrial development" (Butterworth and Chance, 1981, p.x.). According to Milton Santos:

> The fundamental mistake that many researchers have made is to rely on comparisons between the developed and the less developed world. In this way concepts formulated on the basis of data from the developed countries have been indiscriminately applied to Third World countries. As the availability of data on underdeveloped countries increases so it becomes possible to base an historical analysis on Third World reality rather than on the assumption that all social evolution is simultaneously comparable and complementary. (Santos, 1979, p.6).

It is now evident that the unique historical, cultural, economic, and political setting in which Latin American urbanization is taking place is creating quite different urban forms. Historical influences such as the pre-European, indigenous civilizations and empires, as well as the three centuries of Spanish and Portuguese colonization left a legacy of political, economic, social, and physical structures and traditions that effect the formation of the cities. Latin American urban development is also influenced by the world historical context. The continent is going through a process of economic development and urbanization in a world where half the countries are already much further developed, new sophisticated technology is readily transferable, and nearly the whole world is part of a single economic system. This is quite different from the processes of urbanization in Europe and North America that took place

at a time when the world population was overwhelmingly rural, economic activities were basically a local or national affair, and technology was evolving gradually (Simon, 1984, p.495-9).

The idea of "similar path models" (McGee, 1971) of urban development is also inadequate because the economic process of industrialization that occurred in Europe and the United States is very different from the kind of economic development that is occurring in the Third World today. The capitalism that is establishing itself in the Third World has been called "peripheral capitalism" and "dependent capitalism" (i.e.: Cardoso and Faletto, 1979; Slater, 1978). "Peripheral capitalism" refers to the hinterland position of Third World countries in relation to the dominant advanced capitalist countries. "Dependent capitalism" alludes to the fact that the ability of a Third World country to "survive and reproduce itself derives in large measure, from its links with other dominant imperialist societies" (Johnston, et al, 1981, p.74).

To some degree the capitalism emerging in the Third World influences urban spatial structure in the same ways as capitalism in developed countries. For example, there has been greater economic and social differentiation of land use, an increase in the number of people whose home and place of work are separated, and a movement of the elite to residential areas further away from the centre of the city.

However, even though there are some characteristics and processes that are similar in both types of cities, the major differences between capitalism in developed countries and capitalism in the Third World give rise to very different urban structures. The chief differences in urban structure stem from the uneveness with which underdeveloped countries are incorporated into the world economic system and the dependent nature of the Third World economy.

> ...[N]ew economic demands are superimposed over existing 'traditional' ones. The economic system is thus forced to accommodate both new and inherited social realities... Two economic circuits are created, responsible not only for the economic process, but also the process of spatial organization. (Santos, 1979, p.8)

The fractured and dependent character of capitalism in the Third World is one of the key reasons why a different form of urban structure is developing in Latin America.

Thus, the central research question for this thesis is: if cities take different forms in different socio-economic situations, how does the particular socio-economic structure of Latin America effect the form of the cities there?

"Little of the work on underdeveloped cities has involved a rigourous analysis of spatial dynamics" (Santos, 1979, p.7). The majority of studies of Latin American cities have focused on specific phenomena or processes without analysing spatial structure or relationships (eg. Geisse and Hardoy, 1972; Rabinovitz and Trueblood, 1971,1973; Cornelius and Trueblood, 1974, 1975; Portes and Browning, 1976). Common research topics include rural-urban migration, urban

planning policy, and anthropological and sociological studies of ethnic or class groups or communities. Probably the most frequent subject in Latin American urban studies are the peripheral squatter settlements that surround most large Latin American cities, likely because these are the most obvious urban features that are clearly different from developed world cities.

A key area of the Latin American city that has received very little research attention is the "inner city"; that is, the area immediately surrounding the civic and commercial centre of the city, usually consisting of a former elite residential area that now contains a mixture of low-income housing, and commercial activities. This is an important area in the Latin American city because it is the second major area of low-income housing in these cities (the first being the peripheral squatter settlements), because of its proximity to the centre of dominant capitalist control, and because of the many economic activities that occur within the zone.

This thesis will study the character and function of the Latin American inner city and how it is shaped by its socio-economic setting. Rather than focusing on a single feature or process of the inner city, this study will attempt to form a holistic picture of the inner city by analysing all the features and functions that occur within a defined study area. In other words, this thesis is a study of all the phenomena that occur in one "piece" of space,

rather than a study of a particular process or activity that occurs diffused throughout a larger space interwoven with other urban processes and activities.

The general approach taken in this thesis, the political economy approach, is one concerned with an holist analysis of the phenomena of urbanism, based on a systematic study of the relationships that form the urban structure (Badcock, 1984; Walton, 1979). Three basic principles will provide the framework for this analysis.

The first principle places the city within its larger social, economic, and historical context. The city, or any piece of it, cannot be studied as an isolated object without reference to the surrounding and connecting structures, nor can it be studied at one particular historical moment without reference to the past. In the tradition of Claude Levi-Strauss and Karl Marx, an element (in this case, the city), must be understood in its relation to the other elements of the whole (in this case, the social and economic elements of the society in which it exists). It is only in its relation to the other elements that the characteristics of the particular object under examination can be defined.

> It would be a mistake to conclude... that the Latin American city and the forces that shape it can be understood in isolation. In the final analysis, urbanization blends into processes of national change and development and international dependency, and Latin American cities must be viewed in their broader societal contexts. (Butterworth and Chance, 1981, p.198)

The second principle is based on the premise that the mode of production provides a key for the analysis of the

relationships that structure society. To facilitate the examination of the economic system's relationship to the urban spatial structure, the mode of production can be broken down into the elements of the urban economic system identified by Manuel Castells (1980, p.62). The elements are: 1)production, the activities of the production of goods, services, and information; 2)consumption, the social consumption, both individual and collective of the products of society, such as food, housing, cultural and recreational provisions, and urban services; 3)the transactions of exchange that take place between production and consumption; and finally, 4)the management structures that regulate the relations between production, consumption, and exchange, such as urban planning organizations, government, and economic institutions.

The third and final principle for analysis of the urban structure suggests that the physical structure of the city is not merely a reflection of the socio-economic structure; this is not an economic determinist approach. Rather, urban spatial structure is both a condition and a consequence of social activity and organization; in other words, space both affects and reflects societal reality.

> ...[T]he basic processes which operate within society...assume a spatial dimension in two important ways. First, they are space-forming in that they work to shape and structure human interaction in space... At the same time they are space-contingent. Their space-organizing influence is itself shaped by the existing spatial framework. (Soja, 1980, p.207)

Using these principles as a framework, this thesis will study the Latin American inner city according to the following outline. First, a literature review will gather the fragments of research that have been done on the Latin American inner city, as well as describe in greater depth the particular urban economic structure that exists in Latin America. A methodology chapter will present the central hypotheses of the thesis, and explain the selection of the study area, and research methods used. This will be followed by a chapter briefly surveying the historical development of the central area of the case study city, Quito, Ecuador, placing it within the larger urban, national, and international context. The existing information on the spatial, social, and economic characteristics of the central area of Quito will be presented in the next chapter. This will be followed by three chapters presenting the data gathered in the study area. This information will be divided into three parts: (1)the spatial and physical features of the study area, and their organization and use, (2)the residents who live in this area, and (3)the economic activities that take place there. And finally, the conclusion will summarize the study's key findings concerning the character and function of the inner city in the Latin American socio-economic context.

2. Literature Review

2.1 The Origins of the Latin American Inner City

The present physical character and structure of the inner-city area of most of the Spanish-speaking Latin American cities has its origins in the foundations of the cities by the Spanish conquistadors in the Sixteenth Century.[1] Upon conquering or claiming a territory, the conquistadors established a city as a means of controlling the population and resources of the region. Two-thirds (30/49) of the Latin American cities with more than 500,000 inhabitants in 1980, were founded during the first century of Spanish colonialization, and 12 more were established during the remainder of the colonial period (Hardoy and Dos Santos, 1984, p.23).

The contemporary spatial and social structure of these centres is an expression of the urban settlement patterns of the Spanish in the first century of colonization. Although the organization of some of the cities, such as Mexico City and Cuzco, was restricted by the layout of the indigenous cities upon which they were built, most of the cities were built on barren sites and closely followed the traditional Spanish pattern; a design which was made mandatory by royal degree in the Ordenanzas de Descubrimiento y Población of 1573. The basis of this traditional layout was a square grid

---

[1]This historical section will focus only on the Spanish colonial cities, because Portuguese colonial cities followed different patterns of development.

of streets spreading out from a central plaza in all directions. The city had three general zones: 1) the central zone with the most important government and religious buildings surrounding the plaza, and the residences of the elite, 2) a surrounding zone of intermediate-status housing, religious buildings and some commercial enterprises, and 3) on the periphery of the city, a more irregular network of streets with less densely settled mud and adobe dwellings belonging to the poor. Similar to the pre-industrial city described by Sjoberg (1960), the distance of one's residence from the centre was an indication of one's status in society; moving from the centre to the periphery, residences were of decreasing status, until on the edge of the city lived the Indian labourers, the bottom of the colonial social status hierarchy.

Architectually, many Latin American inner-cities still have a large number of buildings originating in the Sixteenth through Nineteenth Centuries. Most of the religious and military buildings date from the Sixteenth to Eighteenth Centuries, while most of the civil architecture originates in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries. The existing residential buildings date mostly from the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries, built in the Mediterrenean tradition around an inner-courtyard (Hardoy and Dos Santos, 1984, p.24).

The colonial period also established the social and symbolic importance of this zone in the Latin American city.

Immediately upon the founding of these cities, this central zone was the location of the dominant powers in society: the church, the government, and the residences of the elite. As such, it became the symbolic and civic centre of the city and the region. It was also the location of all political and religious celebrations and demonstrations, the social meeting place, and the central commercial district and marketplace. While today its commercial importance for the dominant classes has declined, the historic centre remains the civic focal point of the Latin American city (Hardoy and Dos Santos, 1984, p.23; Benalcazar, et al, 1983, p.71).

Although some of the Latin American cities experienced considerable growth during the colonial period, the majority of the population and the economic basis of society remained rural. The cities were essentially the homes of the colonial elite and the people who provided services for them. Thus during the three centuries of colonial rule, the total spatial extent of most of the cities was little more than what are today called the "historic centres" of these cities. However it is these three centuries of colonial rule which formed the basic spatial and physical structures of the present day historic centre and inner city areas of Latin American cities, and established this zone as the symbolic and civic centre of these cities.

2.2 Urban Structural Changes

Most of the contemporary Latin American countries gained political independence in the first quarter of the Nineteenth Century. In the decades that followed "Latin America's economy became, if anything, increasingly and more inextricably integrated into the widening network of international capitalism," (Burns, 1977, p.111), and Latin American cities experienced dramatic urban growth and structural change. Growth of industry, increased urban immigration, and transportation improvements, among other factors, created substantial changes in the residential and commercial organization and function of the inner city.

Throughout the colonial period, the area around the central plaza had been the elite residential zone, however, increasing commercial activity, rising population densities, and improved transportation routes, triggered a movement of the elite out of the central locations to more spacious uncongested residential areas on the outskirts of the city, in a process similar to that which occurred in North American cities. However, unlike North American cities where tenements and apartment buildings often replaced the former houses of the elite, in Latin America the large, colonial houses in the centre remained, and were gradually sub-divided into apartments or rooms for rent to lower-income residents. The increasing occupation of these residences by low-income and low-status inhabitants continued until the inner city became the main zone of

low-income housing in Latin American cities for several decades (Amato, 1970a; Hardoy and Dos Santos, 1984, p.25).

This filtering process occurred at different times in the various cities according to the rate of economic change in each country. By the turn of the century, the process had begun in Buenos Aires, Caracas, Santiago, and Lima, and average population densities of four people per room were recorded in the houses in the inner city zones of these cities (Yujnovsky, 1971, p.79). Other cities such as Quito, La Paz, and Bogotá experienced the movement of the elite from the centre and their gradual replacement by low-income residents beginning in the 1930's and 1940's, creating similar conditions to those in the cities which had gone through the process earlier (Amato, 1970, a,b).

The residential transformations of the inner city did not, however, cause dramatic changes to the physical structure of the central area of the city, as the buildings outwardly remained the same. The first real physical changes to occur in the central city in centuries, occurred with the major expansion of the economic functions of this zone as the country became increasingly involved in the world capitalist market. During the colonial period Latin American cities had been the centres through which the imperial powers extracted the surplus production of the continent, and now the cities continued to have much the same function except with different external powers. Andre Gundar Frank suggests that Third World cities play the role of managing

agents for dominant capitalist countries (Frank, 1972, p.9). With this shift in the centre of power,

> ...the sleepy, stable central plaza became the node for the evolution of an Anglo-American-styled [central business district]... the demands for space and the increased land values led to abrupt changes in the type and the scale of the architectural stock...In many ways the processes shaping the CBD's of Anglo-America and Latin America are similar, but the resultant downtowns are not carbon copies. (Griffin and Ford, 1980, p.400-401)

Until this period most new buildings had continued to follow traditional patterns of height, style, and layout, but now, first northern European, and then North American architectural styles began to appear; taller commercial buildings, with modern designs and without inner courtyards. As well, streets were widened, and later paved, electricity and water systems were installed, and some forms of public transportation were developed. While it must be remembered that this physical transformation mainly occurred in the central core of the city and did not always effect the physical character of the inner city (the ring around the core), the changes in the core did have effects on land use in the inner city, for example more space was used for parking, commercial activities, and warehouses.

Again, these changes began in different cities at different times according to their economic growth experiences. The business transformation of the historic centres of Buenos Aires, Montevideo, San Paulo, and Rio de Janeiro began between 1890 and 1910, coinciding with the residential filtering-down process in these cities; in

Mexico City after 1930; and in Bogotá, Caracas, and most other cities after 1950, two to four decades after the residential filtering phenomenon (Hardoy and Dos Santos, 1984, p.26). Today most major Latin American cities have little left of the original historic buildings in the centre core area, although there are a number of smaller urban centres, such as Quito, Cuzco, Salvador and Santo Domingo, which escaped this physical transformation because of their relatively late economic development (Hardoy and Dos Santos, 1984, p.27).

2.3 Present Residential Characteristics

The inner city is one of the three basic residential options available to the low-income urban dwellers in Latin America. The other possibilities are: 1)"squatter settlements; uncontrolled neighbourhoods of self-built dwellings, usually "with an ambiguous legal status regarding land occupation" (U.N. Habitat, 1982, p.15), and located on the periphery of the city, and 2) public housing projects sponsored by the government.

The proportion of the total population of each city living in each of these types of dwellings varies. Squatter settlements replaced the inner city as the major source of housing for the Latin American urban poor in the 1960's (Edwards, 1982, p.138). While these settlements usually have few urban services, and are far from the centre of the city, residents have the possiblity of eventually owning their own

homes, and with time improving their living conditions. Today, these settlements house between 20 to 50% of the population of all major cities, with about half of the population of cities such as Bogotá, Lima, Mexico City, and Guayaquil living as squatters. (Perlman, 1976, p.12; Antoniades, 1979, p.4; U.N. Habitat, 1982, p.25). Until recently, low-income public housing has not been a major factor in Latin American cities, and therefore possibly less than 5% of urban dwellers live in this type of housing, with the exception of Caracas and Santiago which have had extensive building projects providing housing for up to 20% of their populations (Frank, 1966, p.77). Based on estimates in Rio de Janeiro, Lima, and Bucaramanga, the inner city zone houses from 10 to 15% of the total population of Latin American cities (Leeds, 1974, p.72; Edwards, 1982, p.138).

The capitalist competitive land market as described for North American cities by W. Alonso(1964) and R. Muth(1969) functions in most Latin American cities, and as in North American cities, it is partially responsible for the characteristics of low-income housing in the inner city. Competitive bidding results in higher land rents near the city centre, where in theory the greatest concentration of economic activity and employment opportunities exist. Low-income urban dwellers have little money to spend on transportation and therefore need to live near their places of employment. Thus, those who need to live near the centre are forced to live on high rent land.

> The low-income sectors [of the population] can reside in central areas only by increasing the population density, in order that among many the land rent may be paid. The total amount of rent collected by the proprietor must always be at least equal to that which could be obtained by renovating. (Yujnovsky, 1976; translation by author)

Thus high densities are essentially a requirement of inner-city low-income housing, in contrast to squatter settlements which occupy low value land and thus can afford lower residential densities.

From the existing typologies of inner-city, low-income housing (Portes, 1971; Leeds, in Cornelius and Tūreblood, 1974; Portes and Walton, 1976; Edwards, 1982), three basic dwelling types can be identified: (1)decaying, old buildings which have been subdivided into rental units, (2)"corridor" dwellings, and (3)inner-city self-built dwellings.

The downward filtering process of former elite residences in the central city described earlier, resulted in residential areas called "turgurios", deteriorating, high-density residential buildings with poor living conditions (Hurtado, 1980, p.23). These large, old buildings, usually private residences dating from the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries, are divided into small rooms or apartments, often without windows, and equipped with insufficient and substandard facilities for the large number of residents (Barrenechea and Lawner, 1977, p.43).

The second major type of inner-city housing, corridor dwellings, "consist of a series of horizontal one- or two-room renting units; for all of which 3 or 4 toilets and

a similar number of faucets and wash-tanks serve. There is what must be condominium area - the central, elongated courtyard and entryways" (Leeds, 1974, p.69). Often 30 to 40 families share a single water faucet and several latrines. Most of these were built in the early decades of this century, often by the Catholic Church, to help house the urban poor, and are still in use today. Except for R.W. Patch's brief study of a single *callejon* in Lima in 1961 (Patch, 1961), and Oscar Lewis' research in Mexico City (Lewis, 1959, 1963), dwellings of this type have not been studied very much.

The third type of inner-city housing is the self-built shelter. They are built on vacant lots, behind buildings, or on whatever vacant land is available. Often the land which is vacant is land that is considered unfit for formally constructed buildings such as steep slopes, river banks, and poorly-drained land. If built with the landowner's permission, the residents of these dwellings must pay rent. With or without permission from the landowner, these squatters, like those on the periphery of the city, face a constant threat of eviction. These are generally the poorest quality dwellings in the central city because they usually lack urban services and are built with only scraps of wood, metal, and cardboard.

The distinguishing characteristic of the central city low-income residences, is that they are usually rented dwellings, while squatter settlements are, for the most

part, owner-occupied. In the inner city, there exists "a complex network of ownership, tenancy and subtenancy to land and/or buildings [which] has developed over many years"(Barrenechea and Lawner, 1977, p.43). Ownership seems to be in the hands of a small number of proprietors who own extensive properties, as well as a large number of owners with a single property for whom the rents collected are their main source of income. As well, many tenants depend on the income from their subtenants for their own survival.

While some studies, such as that of Balonawsky (In Castells, 1974) suggest that ownership of central city rental residences is a lucrative business, others, such as Michael Edwards (1982), suggest that "the popular image of the powerful capitalist reaping excessive profits from dilapidated property" (p.147) is quite inaccurate and that at least in Bucaramanga, "it is altogether a smaller-scale and more flexible activity"(p.147). Edwards found that: "the motive for letting property is overwhelmingly financial: 90 percent of the resident landlords accommodate renters in order to generate additional income. As one would expect, landlords earn lower average incomes than nonlandlord owners; they also tend to be older, have smaller families, and own larger dwellings with vacant space. Rent forms a very important adjunct to income from employment, — contributing approximately 50% of the total household income for landlords in the city centre"(p.147). Thus deterioration of the residences occurs because the lack of large rent

profits inhibits upkeep and repair.

There is evidence that the number of low-income residents in the central city is decreasing because of changes in land use as it becomes more profitable to use this centrally located land for commercial and higher-income residences(Edwards, 1982, p.142; Balanowsky, in Castells, 1974, p.170).

2.4 Present Economic Activities

While research on the economic activities occurring specifically in the inner city is limited, there has been much research on the economic activities of the urban lower classes in general. Therefore, this review will cover the urban economic structure and the position of the lower classes in it, and then look at what is known about the urban geographical organization of these activites, especially with regard to the inner city.

There are two circuits of economic activity in Latin American cities, which Milton Santos (1979) calls the upper and lower circuits. Briefly, the upper circuit, also known as the formal sector, can be described as capital-intensive with a limited amount of labour, while the lower circuit, or informal sector, is labour-intensive with a limited amount of capital. The upper circuit handles large quantities of goods at generally fixed prices, while the lower circuit operates with small quantities of goods and negotiable prices. The upper circuit is also characterized by

institutional credit, impersonal customer relations, abundant advertising, extensive government aid, direct dependence on foreign countries, and external market orientation. On the other hand, the lower circuit is characterized by personal credit, personalized customer relations, little or no advertising, and little or no government aid or dependence on foreign countries, and internal market orientation (Table 2.1).

The two circuits are inter-related and complimentary. The upper circuit depends on the lower circuit for cheap labour, for cheap distribution networks, and to supply cheap goods and services to low paid upper-circuit workers, including many from the "middle-class". The lower circuit depends on the upper for "a good portion of its clientele, income, and source of new income-generating activities" (Safa, 1982, p.7). However, the circuits are not integrated as equal partners; the upper circuit dominates the lower. The lower circuit is modified for the benefit of the upper circuit, or it adapts itself for survival as the upper circuit grows.

The two circuit framework is not a dualistic theory such as those present in earlier descriptions of the Third World economy (e.g.: Geertz, 1963; Belshaw, 1965). While this traditional/modern dichotomy perhaps had some validity in the past, today the various forms of production, distribution, and consumption that co-exist in the urban economy are the result of technological modernization,

Table 2.1: Characteristics of the Two Urban Economic Circuits in the Third World

Variable	Upper Circuit	Lower Circuit
Technology	capital intensive	labour intensive
Organization	bureaucratic	primitive familistic
Capital	abundant	limited
Labour	limited	abundant
Regular wages	prevalent	exceptional
Inventories	large quantities and/or high quality	small quantities, poor quality
Prices	generally fixed	negotiable
Credit	institutional	personal
Profit margin	small per unit, with large turnover	large per unit, but small turnover
Relations with customers	impersonal	personal
Advertisement	necessary	little
Government aid	extensive	almost none
Direct dependence on foreign countries	great	little

Source: Adapted from Santos, 1979, p.22.

increased integration into the advanced corporate capitalist economy, and the adaptation and modification of traditional economic activites. Rather than two isolated economic systems, a "bipolar" economy is a more realistic image (Peattie, 1968, p.39). While some economic activities can clearly be labelled as belonging to either the upper or the lower circuit, many fall on a continuum between the two. For example, many middle-size retail stores and production firms have some characteristics from each of the sectors. High and low income earners can be found in both circuits; such as, a labourer with a low wage working in a foreign owned and operated factory, or a prosperous neighbourhood vegetable vendor. All sectors of society consume goods sold in both circuits; for example, almost everyone buys canned processed food and manufactured cigarettes produced in the upper circuit, and fresh vegetables and fruit from the lower-circuit market distribution system; yet for major consumer needs such as housing and transportation, the upper classes tend to purchase goods within the upper circuit, and the lower classes have lower-circuit sources for supplying these needs.

The growing urban labour force in Latin American cities can not be totally absorbed by the upper circuit establishments, so that an estimated 40 to 70% of urban workers are part of the lower circuit (Gilbert and Gulgar, 1982, p.74).

Table 2.2: Income Opportunities in the Third World Urban Economy

Upper Circuit	Lower Circuit
Management Sector	
Directors, Bankers	
Industrial Magnates	
Owners of Large Scale Enterprises	
Military and Civil Service Elite	
Intermediate-Level Salaried Positions	**Higher-Level Positions**
Professionals	Shop Owners
Importers, Dealers	Retailers
Intermediate-level Administrators	Small Property Owners
Teachers	Independent Artisans
Lower-Level Wage-Earners	**Lower-Level Occupations**
Clerks	Family Workers
Sales Personel	Street Vendors
Industrial and Construction Labour	Temporary Workers
Soldiers	Domestic Employees
Caretakers	Street Services
Security Employees	Apprentice Artisans

Source: Adapted from Hart, 1973, p.69; Findlay and others, 1983, p.8; and Qadeer, 1983, p.25.

Table 2.2 presents some of the income opportunities in the two circuits of the urban economy. The table is divided into two separate columns for clarity and does not imply a dual employment structure. In reality there is considerable overlap of occupations. Both economic circuits have production and service sectors (secondary and tertiary activities). Illict income opportunities such as smuggling, black-marketing, corruption, and thievery exist throughout the economy. The table illustrates the vertical hierarchies

that exist within both circuits, as well as the horizontal links within the economy. In many ways occupations at the same level but in different circuits are more alike in terms of social status and income than occupations at different levels of the same circuit.

The spatial organization of these two circuits in the Latin American city is very inter-woven; as Santos (1979) suggests in the title of his book, the urban space is "shared" by the two circuits. However, the dispersion patterns of the two circuits are very different.

Two decades ago, McGee (1967) suggested that the existence of a basically mono-economic system in advanced Western cities had led to a "maximum specialization of land use which has most frequently taken the form of concentric circles of relatively homogeneous economic usage"(p.126). On the other hand, the mixed economic structure of Third World cities "inhibits large areas of homogeneous land use from emerging" (p.126).

Today, North American cities no longer consist of homogeneous concentric zones as in the industrial capitalist period, rather corporate capitalism has given rise to a "radical decentralization and multinucleation of manufacturing, retailing, and wholesaling; more spatially extensive configurations made possible by the automobile and truck; and the movement of the working class... to the suburbs" (Walker, 1978, p.204).

With integration into the corporate capitalist world economy, the spatial distribution of upper-circuit economic activities in Latin American cities has changed in many of the same ways as in North American cities. Much of the industry is located in designated suburban industrial zones, the central business district has become mainly an administrative and financial centre, and residential areas for the working class have formed near the industrial zones.

Lower-circuit activities, on the other hand, such as markets, artisan production, and street vendors are scattered throughout the city. Within this dispersed economic network, the inner city seems to be of special significance. The inner city in Latin American seems to have a much greater variety of economic activities than comparable districts in North American cities. While there may be some heavy, large-scale industry in the area, it is essentially a mixture of lower-circuit economic activities and low-income residential spaces (Griffin and Ford, 1980, p.407).

2.5 The Social Role of the Inner City

Much debate centres around the composition of inner-city inhabitants in Latin America, and their position in urban society, yet few descriptions exist of "turgurio settlements and the social life that takes place within them"(Wallace, 1984, p.62).

In the mid-1960's and early 1970's, a popular view of the character of the inner-city population, was that, in an assimilation process similar to that outlined by Burgess for North American cities, residents of this zone are recent migrants who have begun to work their way up the socio-economic ladder (Turner, 1968, 1975; Mangin, 1967). Upon arriving in the city, employment is the most important priority for the migrant, so he or she locates near the centre. Once job security is established (and this may take years) permanent ownership of a dwelling becomes more important, and at this stage, the Bridgeheader (as Turner labelled these migrants), often takes up residence in a squatter settlement on the periphery of the city.

Other researchers (ie: Perlman, 1976; Salmen, 1970), have argued that the inhabitants of the inner city are poor people who have been in the city for years and never quite "made it". During a study of Rio de Janeiro, J. Perlman found that:

> inhabitants of these tenement-type residences [in the inner city] are in fact not migrants, but mostly Portuguese, Spanish and Jewish families who have been in the city for generations and have never quite "made it". The slum is simply not a place where rural migrants come- probably because there is little space available, low turnover, much crowding, and often prohibitions against children...Finally, although rates are cheap, there are still monthly payments to be made in contrast to the favelas [squatter settlements] which are totally free. (Perlman, 1976, p.19-20)

Most researchers now agree that "turgurio dwellers include both longtime residents and recent... migrants" (Wallace, 1984, p.62). In his classification of urban slums

in Chile, Portes (1971) suggests that inner-city low-income residential areas are dual communities:

> the ends of downward careers and beginnings of upward ones coincide within it. In neither case is the slum without function: for the downwardly mobile, it is a last refuge from urban society; for the new migrant, it is a bridgehead into it. (Portes, 1971, p. 239).

Edwards' (1982) in his study of Bucaramanga found that the renting households in the central city were similar to those in the rest of the city: young, male-headed, nuclear families saving to buy their own house; except for a significant minority of extreme poor which comprised about 5% of the centre's population. This minority is composed of an older generation living in the centre because that "was the only form of accommodation available when they arrived in the city during the 1930's and 1940's" (Edwards, 1982, p.142) and they have never been able to save enough money to leave. They are characterized as living in single-income households, being at the end of their working careers, aged 55 to 70 years, with 40% of the households consisting of a single person and two-thirds headed by women.

The position of the inner-city inhabitants in urban society has also been much debated. Often labelled the "theory of marginality", the dominant theme of the 1960's and 1970's was the lack of integration of low-income urban dwellers into the emerging modern social and economic structure.

Prominent in this discussion is the idea of the "culture of poverty" which originated in the work of Oscar

Lewis (1959, 1963, 1966) in the vecindades (corridor dwellings and tugurios) of the inner city of Mexico City. He contends that the poor have developed a "culture of poverty" which is "a design for living, with a ready-made set of solutions for human problems, and so serves a significant adaptive function" (Lewis, 1966, p.19). Lewis identifies several characteristics of the culture of poverty. "The disengagement, the non-integration, of the poor with respect to the major institutions of society is a crucial element" (Lewis, 1966 p.21); this includes social segregation, political uninvolvement, and lack of economic participation. In addition, the culture of poverty is characterized by such traits as: social disorganization, broken nuclear families, fatalism, dependence and inferiority (Lewis, 1966, p.21-23). The poverty of those living in the inner city is thus seen as a consequence of the lack of key attitudes, values and behaviour patterns (mostly those valued by Western contemporary middle-class society), without which one does not become part of the dominant social and economic system, and therefore remains poor. Among the research which follows this line of thinking is R.W. Patch's (1961) study of a *callejon* (corridor dwelling) in inner-city Lima which describes the social disorganization of the community.

More recent evidence suggests that although the urban poor do not benefit from their position in contemporary society, they are definitly integrated into it. As Perlman (1976) found in the favelas of Rio de Janeiro, the urban

poor:

> are not marginal but in fact integrated into the society, albeit in a manner detrimental to their own interests...They are certainly not separate from, or on the margin of the system, but are tightly bound into it in a severely asymmetrical form... The favela residents are not economically and politically marginal, but are exploited and repressed; that they are not socially and culturally marginal, but are stigmatized and excluded from a closed social system. (Perlman, 1976, p.195)

Even though the integration of the urban poor in the urban system now seems fairly clear, the specific form of the integration of the inner-city inhabitants has yet to be studied.

2.6 Summary

The contemporary physical form of Latin American inner cities is derived from the Spanish colonial cities established in the Sixteenth Century. Commonly, the central city consists of a regular, square grid of narrow streets with wall-to-wall, two or three-story, adobe brick buildings with inner-courtyards, interspersed with stone churches and civic buildings, and a few public plazas. The functions of this zone of the city were also established in the colonial era; while the central core was the civic and religious focus of the city, the surrounding area (today's inner city) was a mixture of commercial uses (in the front and ground-floor rooms), and residential uses (in the back and upper-floor rooms). The pattern established in the Sixteenth Century remained basically unchanged until the end of the Nineteenth Century and beginning of the Twentieth. At this

time, the central cores of many Latin American cities began to take on some of the characteristics of Western central business districts, and the ring around the core was transformed into a lower-income residential zone as the former occupants, the upper-classes, moved out to new residential districts on the periphery of the city. While today, the inner city continues to be an important zone of low-income housing, and a receptor of rural-urban migrants, research indicates that a much larger proportion of low-income housing in Latin American cities now takes the form of peripheral squatter settlements, and the majority of arriving migrants seem to enter urban society through these settlements.

Other than these basic generalizations about the development and activities of the inner-city zone, there has been little research specifically on the functions of this part of the Latin American city, and this zone's position within the larger urban structure.

Research concerning Latin American urbanism in general, has reached three conclusions which are important for the present study of the inner-city zone. First, the urban economy activities are part of a continuum between two poles, one a modern, corporate-capitalist sector, and the other a small-scale, labour-intensive sector. Second, the urban lower classes definitely make up the majority of the labourers, distributors, and consumers of the lower circuit of the urban economy. And third, the urban lower classes are

not marginal to the urban socio-economic system as once thought, but rather, integrated into the system in a way that benefits them very little, and at the same time allows an elite to maintain its position of privelege.

3. Research Procedure

3.1 Hypotheses

Using the framework for analysis presented in the Introduction, and what is known about the Latin American inner city as outlined in the Literature Review, several hypotheses can be made concerning the structure and function of the Latin American inner city.

First, the cultural and historical setting of the Latin American inner city has been a important factor in its present physical characteristics and position in the city as a whole. Established in the Spanish colonial period, the physical structure of the inner city has been modified for the current uses and functions of the zone. Thus for example, large, former single-family houses are now divided into multi-family dwellings, new commercial uses such as parking-lots and warehouses now occupy some of the area, and modern urban services have been installed. In turn, the physical structure and position of the inner city influence the activities that take place in the zone, such as the size and composition of the resident households, and the type of commercial activities that occur there.

Second, it seems likely that the inner-city is one of the main poles of production, distribution, and consumption in the lower-circuit economy of the Latin American city. As such, this area is the location of many of the city's largest markets and street vending zones, and of

concentrations of artisan production. As well, it is probable that customers wishing to purchase lower-circuit goods and services come from all over the city specifically to the stores, markets, and workshops of the inner city.

Thirdly, it is hypothesized that the lower-income people who live in the inner city are mostly those involved in the lower-circuit economy. Thus the inner city is both a receptor for migrants coming to the city for temporary work in the lower circuit, and those seeking to establish themselves in the lower circuit, rather than migrants seeking work in upper-circuit jobs in construction or industry. However, it is suggested that the majority of the inhabitants of the inner city are not recent migrants, but instead, long-time residents of the community with established work in the lower-circuit economy or in low-level, tertiary, upper-circuit positions who want to live near their place of work.

These hypotheses: 1)that the physical structure established by the Spanish both influences and is modified by the current activities and uses of the inner city; 2)that the inner city is a pole of the lower-circuit economy; and 3)that most of the inhabitants are involved in this economy; support the theory that the urban lower classes and the zones of the city associated with them, are not marginal to modern capitalist society but rather, important, integrated elements that are vital to its survival.

3.2 Selection of the Study Area

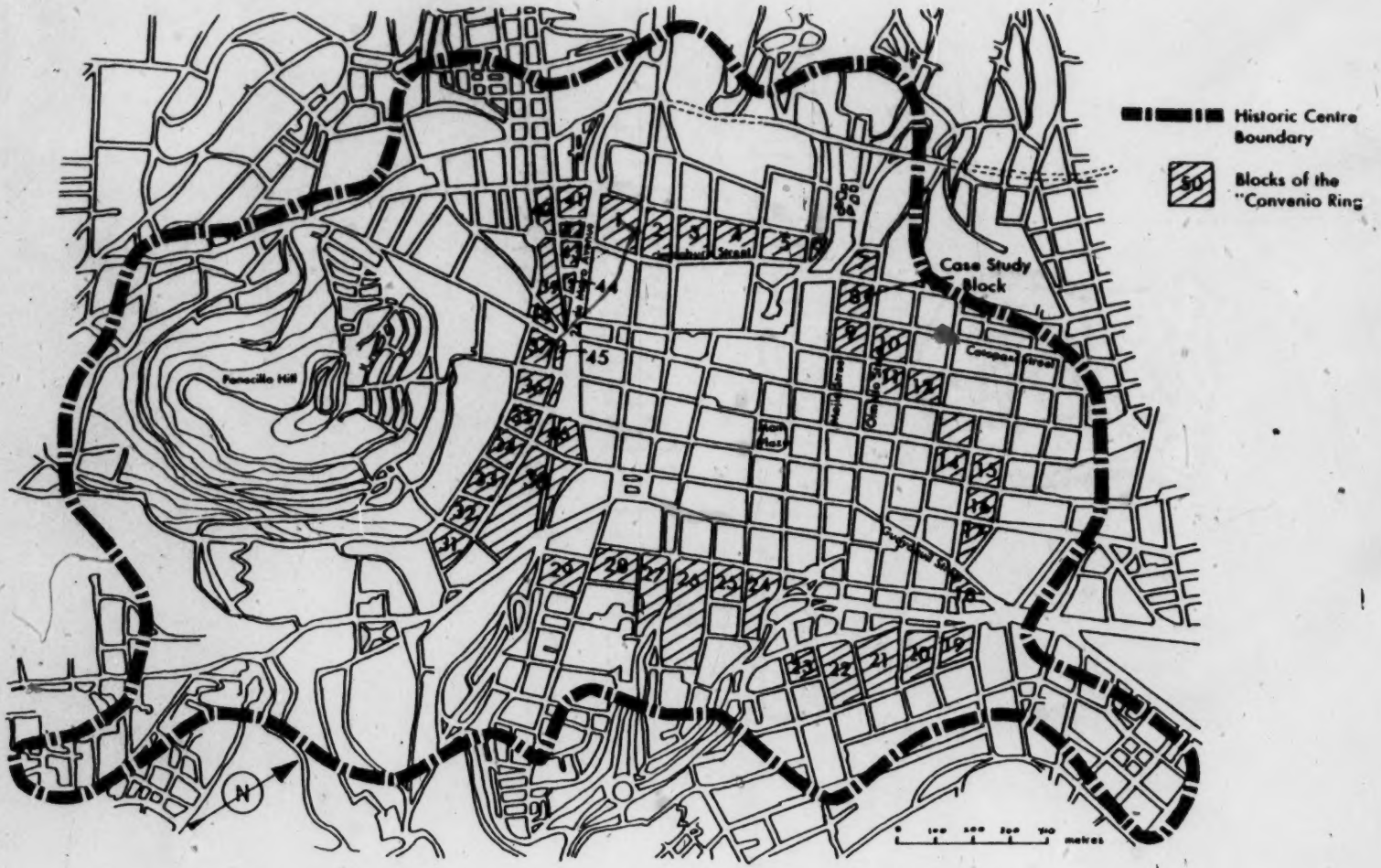
The capital of the Republic of Ecuador, Quito, was chosen as the city to be studied for several reasons. Firstly, the relatively recent entrance of Ecuador into the world capitalist economic system, means that there has been less destruction of the historical physical form of the centre of the city than in most major Latin American cities. Thus the effects of the historical structure on present form and function and the modification of the structures with changing uses can more easily be seen. Later economic development also means that Quito is probably at a stage in its development which more rapidly developing cities have already experienced, and which many of the slower-growing cities have yet to go through. This makes possible some understanding of the transformations of structure and function which take place in the inner-city as the city matures. Secondly, being a city of only 800,000 people, it is a much more managable size for research and understanding than the major Latin American cities which have several million inhabitants. Yet at the same time, Quito's role as the country's political capital and as one of the two dominant cities in Ecuador, make its national position comparable to most major Latin American cities. Thirdly, there has been a substantial amount of research done on the central zones of Quito which can be used as a basis for a case study. The historic centre of Quito is one of the best preserved colonial centres in Latin America, and therefore

has received much research attention from foreign and national establishments covering historical and cultural matters, as well as present social and economic conditions.

Studying the "inner city" of Quito was somewhat difficult because there is no such precisely designated zone. However, the Municipality of Quito has deliniated a zone called the "Historic Centre" which covers the areal extent of the city as it was in approximately 1900 (Figure 3.1). Using several variables which characterize the "inner city", a zone was identified for the purposes of this study. It consists of a ring of blocks approximately three blocks wide, whose inner boundary is approximately three or four blocks in all directions from the main plaza (Figure 5.6).

Since the purpose of this thesis is to study the activities that take place within the inner city, it was decided that rather than a general survey of the whole zone, an indepth examination of one case study block would be more appropriate. However, selection of the case study block, or study area as it will also be called, was limited by the lack of block level data available for the whole zone. The only source of statistics on the individual blocks of the zone was the "Convenio" report (1979) which examined a single ring of 46 blocks. This ring of blocks had been identified as the most "conflictive" in the historic centre because of its land use, land value, population density, and building characteristics. Although the Convenio report was never published, a wealth of data had been collected for the

Figure 3.1: Historic Centre Boundaries



individual blocks in this ring. Therefore, it was decided that the data available for these blocks would be used to bring some rationale to the selection of the study area.

The social variables used to select the case study block from this ring were those provided by the Convenio report which included 1) the number of households per block, 2) the number of houses per block, 3) the number of inhabitants per block, and 4) the average number of households per house (Appendix A).

Spatial statistics on the block level were more difficult to attain. The area of each block was roughly calculated using a large-scale map. Historical maps of Quito were studied to determine the approximate date each block was constructed. The earliest map of Quito, dating from 1537 shows that none of the blocks in the study area were built at this time. During the colonial period all the blocks were constructed upon, until by 1904, the map of the Comisión Geodésica Francesa shows all but three of the blocks in this ring completely covered with buildings. In addition, it was decided to eliminate the seven blocks (#2-5, #24-26) which had been the subjects of case studies in various previous studies. The results of these case studies will be discussed in Chapter Five.

In order to select a block for the case study, the variable values were rated on a scale of five, and the average rating for each factor was calculated to identify those blocks whose characteristics were definitely outside

the norm for the area. Through a process of elimination, Blocks No.8 and No.10 (Figure 3.1) were judged most suitable for the study. To select between these two, a visit was made to the two blocks to see the physical and social appearence of each. While both blocks seemed to have the same combination of average and poor condition housing, Block No.8 appeared to have more economic activity. Since this study is interested in both the residential, and economic roles of the inner city, Block No.8 was selected for the study.

3.3 Research Methods

3.3.1 Secondary Research

Secondary research covered the libraries of the universities and research institutions of Quito. Among the most valuable information sources encountered were eight theses about the historic centre from the Faculty of Architecture and Urbanism at the Universidad Central de Ecuador, several unpublished studies done by institutions and universities in the city, and the research of the Centro de Investigaciones CIUDAD, an urban studies centre. The information and data gathered from these and other sources form the basis of chapters three and four, on the history and present characteristics of the inner-city area, and provide a background for the findings of the present study.

3.3.2 Survey Methodology

In order to study the economic and social functions of the case study block, four separate surveys were needed. The residents were surveyed to determine the composition of the block population as well as the housing characteristics (Appendix B). Information about land use, physical structures and ownership was gathered in a survey of the owners of houses (Appendix C). A survey of the block businesses provided information about their characteristics and function within the urban economy (Appendix D). And finally, a sample survey of customers supplied data on the clientele served by the block businesses (Appendix E).

Questionaires were designed with the help of two researchers who had survey experience in the historic centre: Gilda Farrel of the Catholic University and Rodrigo del Castillo of the Municipality of Quito. The questionnaires avoided overtly personal questions that people would be reluctant to answer. Included in the house owner survey were questions on the physical condition of the house to be completed by interviewer observation in order to avoid possible subjective answers from house owners. The client survey was short so that it could be administered quickly as clients were leaving the business premises.

A pilot survey was carried out in Block No.10 (the other block that could have be used for the case study), because it provided similar conditions to the choosen block, yet would not interfere with the final survey. Five

households of varied social and geographical characteristics were interviewed and the questionnaire appeared clear and easy to answer. Businesses from each category were interviewed for the pilot surveys of businesses owners and customers, and again, the interviews went smoothly.

To determine the coverage of the residential survey, the most recent municipal cadastral maps, 1969, were used to identify the 18 house lots on the block. These were revised according to the changes visible from the street, such as a building torn down, or buildings joined together. A list of the businesses to be surveyed was compiled through street observation. This list had continual additions, however, as new workshops and stores were discovered hidden inside buildings in the course of the residential survey. Two Latin American students were hired to assist the researcher in doing the interviews. Letters of introduction from the Catholic University explained the purpose of the survey. After each interview, the assistents checked back with the researcher to assure that each interview was properly completed.

The house owners were surveyed first to get a rough picture of the houses and the number of households each contained. Only one owner refused to have an interview, and three owners who did not live in the houses could not be contacted. However, much of the information for these four questionnaires was pieced together with information from other residents of the houses. Of the total 17 houses with

residents, there were 85 households, and of these 21, or 29%, were not interviewed because of refusal or lack of contact. Only 6 (12%) of the 48 businesses on the block refused to be interviewed, resulting in good coverage of the block businesses.

The survey of the customers was more difficult. A sample of one-quarter of the 36 businesses with rented space on the block, were used for the survey with a subsample in each type of business. Discussion with proprietors in each category revealed that the weekdays were fairly slow and Saturdays the busiest. Thus the survey was conducted on Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday, to obtain a sample of the customers that frequent the block during a week. To get the variety of customers that come at different times during the day, survey periods were spread throughout the day. Each day approximately 70% of the total number of customers at block businesses during the survey periods were interviewed. The remaining customers were not interviewed because they refused or in one case, because there were too many customers for the interviewer to cover all of them.

4. History of Quito and the Inner City

4.1 Physical Setting

The cordillera of the Andes runs the length of the Latin American continent along the Pacific coast, cutting north and south across the small nation of Ecuador. To the west of the mountain range in Ecuador are the coastal lowlands, and to the east of the mountains are the lowlands of the Amazon Basin. The mountainous region, called the "sierra", consists of two chains of mountains, but the valley between the two chains has been divided by volcanic action into a series of basins. The city of Quito lies in one of these basins, on the eastern slopes of the inactive Pichincha volcano. Situated at 0°13'15" south latitude, just 20 kilometres south of the equator, and 78°30'08" west longtitude, with an elevation between 2,800 and 3,000 metres above sealevel, Quito has a climate and vegetation typical of a high altitude equatorial area. There is little seasonal variation of temperatures, with the average monthly temperatures ranging from 10° to 15°C year-round, and sharp diurnal temperature contrasts ranging from near 26°C at mid-day to near freezing at night. Quito receives about 1,000 millimetres of precipitation annually which is evenly distributed throughout the year in almost daily afternoon showers.

4.2 Pre-Conquest Quito

An urban centre has existed at the Quito site for over 1,500 years. Until the Tenth Century, the northern Andean region in which Quito is located was inhabited by an agricultural Indian nation called the Quitus, whose capital city was Quito. About the year 1000 A.D. the Cara nation from the coast conquered the region, and established the Shirys confederation. The pre-Inca Indian civilization had its economic base in intensive agriculture, thus most of the valley of Quito was cultivated land in this period. The long, narrow valley is interupted by a small hill, today called the "Panecillo", and immediately to the north of this hill, the city of Quito was established.

Very little is known about the pre-Inca settlement, however it was probably more like an agricultural village and a religous centre than a contemporary city. Possibly 90% of the total population of the valley (estimated at 15,000) (Sheck, 1969, p.26) were agriculturalists, while the remainder consisted of the elite ruling class and the artisans who catered to their needs. With a population of probably no more than 1,000 (Sheck, 1969, p.26), Quito likely functioned as the ceremonial and administrative centre for the region, and housed the ruling elite, and the artisans and servants. As in most pre-industrial villages, the most important civic and religious structures were located at the centre, surrounded by the residences of the elite, and on the periphery were the workspaces and homes of

the lower-status inhabitants.

With the conquest of Quito in the northward expansion of the Inca Empire in approximately 1460, the city's administrative function became part of the highly centralized structure of the Empire. As the capital of the northwestern quarter of the Empire, Quito was the seat of the prefect, or regional governor, and other government officials, the centre of military command for the region, a focal point for the integration of the region into the Inca culture and religion, and a regional pole for trade and the collection of taxes (Sheck, 1969, p.28).

Since nothing remains of the Inca city, it is surmized that while the city expanded in size, its form and organization remained much the same as before, with the addition of important Inca buildings such as temples, palaces, and residences for the elite. The centre of the city continued to be the domain of the elite classes, and the residences of the lower classes remained on the periphery.

4.3 The Spanish Colonial Period (1534-1822)

In 1532 the Spanish Conquistadors came north from Peru and conquered the northern part of the Inca Empire (Gomez, 1980, p.31). The founding of the Spanish colonial city of Quito on the sixth of December, 1534, upon the ruins of the ancient indigenous capital was a demonstration to the Indians of the supremacy of Spanish power.

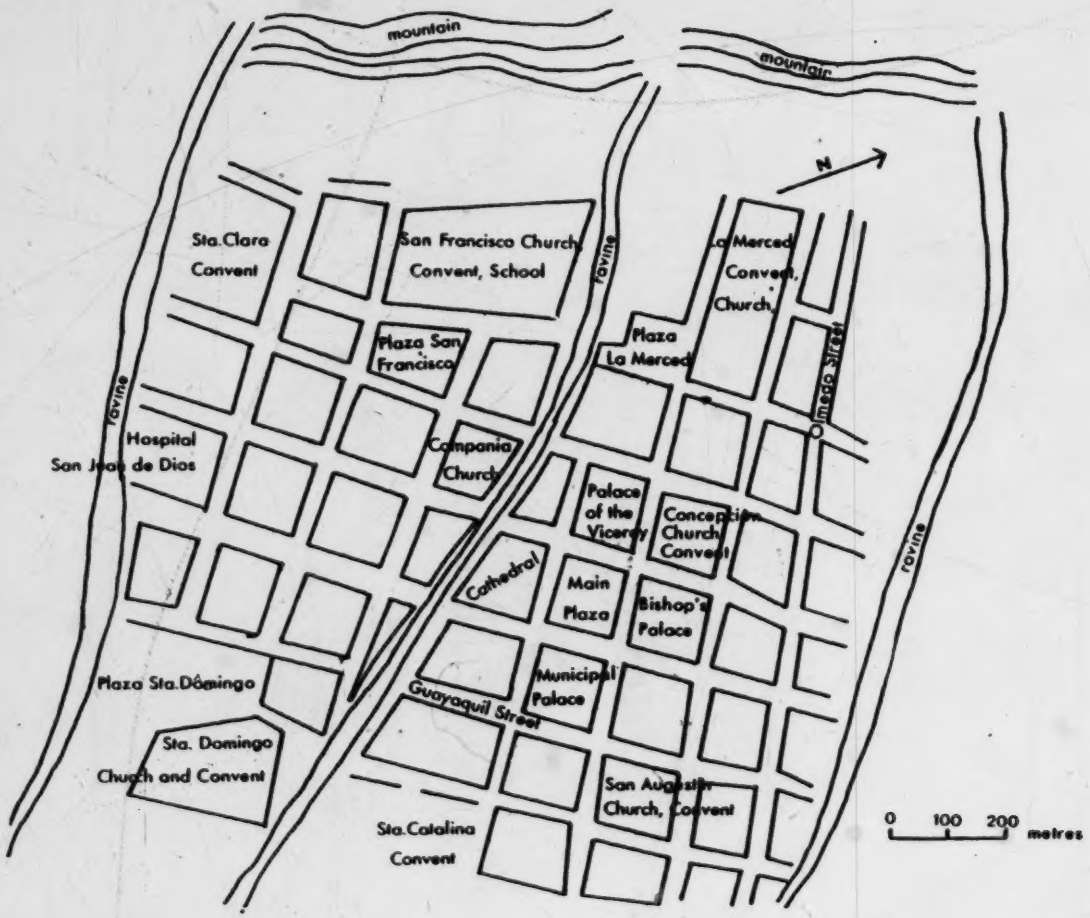
Quito's function as an administrative centre within a larger hierarchical structure continued, only now in an even larger empire, Spain's "New World" colonies, and with its focus in Seville and Madrid, instead of Cuzco. The administrative role of Quito was strengthened when it was made a seat of the Real Audiencia, the judicial centre of the Viceroyalty of Peru's northern region in 1563, and later, in 1740, the Real Audiencia of the Viceroyalty of New Granada. Quito's important role as a religious centre was also established immediately. With the large native population in the surrounding region to be converted to Catholicism and "civilized" to be productive, the church was a dominant force in colonial society. This role was augmented when Quito was created the seat of a bishop in 1544, and later of an archbishop. Thus, Quito was the centre of political and religious control over a territory about the size of modern day Ecuador.

Quito's economic functions expanded as the Spanish used various institutions to control and exploit the region's labour and resources. "Encomiendas" entitled Spanish colonists to collect tribute from groups of Indians, and later "latifundia", large land grants, were given to favoured colonists. The "mita" was a periodic labour obligation levied on all Indians between the ages of 18 and 50 years old (Velasco, 1981, p.96-97). Mitas existed for all types of labour: domestic labour, construction of buildings and roads, mining, gathering firewood, working in the

textile mills, and so on. Thus mitas in the Quito region were used to build the city, to cultivate the land, exploit the silver, gold, and mercury deposits discovered in the south, and establish a profitable textile industry. While agricultural produce basically provided for local needs, and the mineral wealth of the region was small in comparison to the deposits in southern Peru (Sheck, 1969, p. 51), textile goods produced in the "obrajes", or textile workshops, became the main export of the region (Hardoy and Dos Santos, 1984, p.43). Goods made from cotton from the coastal region, and wool from the highlands, were exported to other Spanish colonies and to Spain itself.

When the Spanish founded Quito, it had a population of approximately 1000, including Indians, and an area of eight or nine hectares (Sheck, 1969, p.67). The first plan for the city, drawn by Capitan Juan Díaz de Hidalgo in the mid-Sixteenth Century, outlined the regular square grid of streets surrounding a central plaza, typical of the early Spanish American cities (Figure 4.1). The land was divided into solars (lots) measuring 150 feet by 150 feet (approximately 46 X 46 metres), and four of these solars together formed a block. The solars were distributed among the original 204 Spanish settlers of the city, and sites were also designated for religious and civic buildings. In the earliest plan of Quito, dated 1573, 63 hectares of land were allocated for various uses (Achig, 1983, p.39), however only about half of this land was occupied at this time

Figure 4.1: Earliest Map of Quito, Mid-Sixteenth Century



Adapted from: Gomez, 1980, p.37

(Table 4.2). Twenty-seven percent of the land was designated for residential and commercial use, and thirty-two percent of the land belonged to the Catholic church (Table 4.1). The large amount of land controlled by the church is a result of: (1)the power of the Catholic church in Spanish colonial society and its particular importance in Quito, and (2)the many functions that were within the church's responsibility, such as hospitals, schools, and monastaries.

The elitist character of the pre-conquest urban spatial organization continued in much the same form during the Spanish colonial period (Figure 4.2). The upper classes and dominant societal institutions were located at the centre of the city, and the activities and residences surrounding this core were of declining status with distance from the centre. In Quito, as in other colonial cities, the urban focus was on the central plaza. It was used for political, social, religious, and commercial activities. Society's most important religious and civic buildings bordered it: the Palace of the Governor, the Municipal Hall, the Cathedral, and the Archbishop's Palace (Hardoy and Dos Santos, 1984, p.40). Surrounding these buildings were the major churches and cloisters, and the solars of the elite Spanish families. Beyond the elite residences were the shops, workshops, and homes of the small "middleclass", such as artisans, clerks, merchants, and the like, and finally, on the outskirts of the city were the poorest residences, those of the menial and manual labourers and Indians.

Figure 4.2: Map of Quito, Jorge Juan, 1748

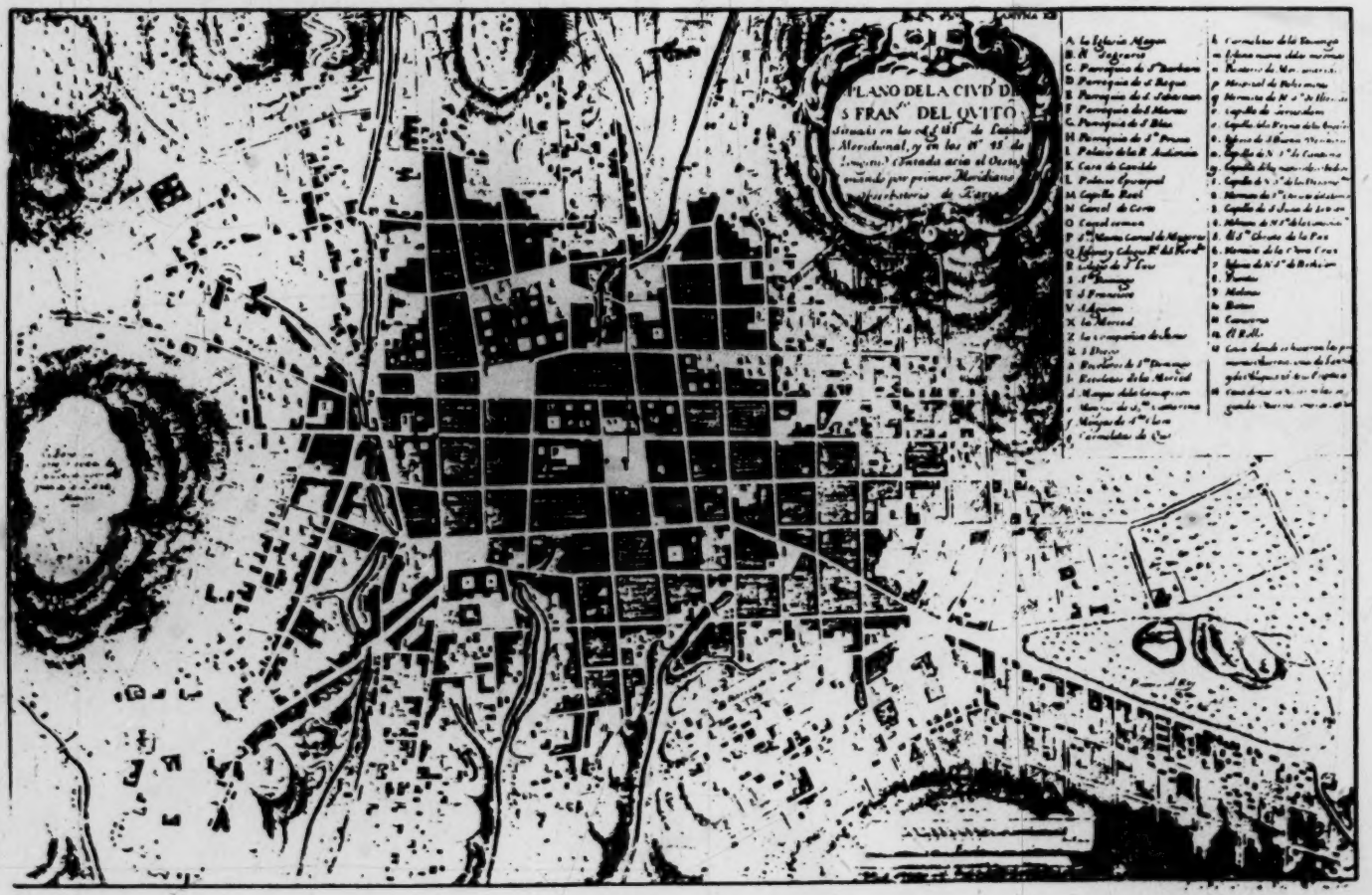


Table 4.1: Designated Land Uses in Quito, 1573

Uses of Space	Area (hectares)	Percent of Total
Church property	20	32%
Streets	12	19%
Plazas	4	6%
Services	10	16%
Residential & Commercial	17	27%
TOTAL	63	100%

Source: Achig, 1983, p.39.

The original residences, including those of the elite, had been built of mudbrick walls and straw roofs. As the city became more established, the houses were improved. These new houses were modeled after houses from the Andalucía region of Spain, where the houses followed the ancient Roman style common throughout the Mediterranean (Ortiz, 1979, p.29). Usually they were only one-story, although later on in the colonial period two-story houses were built as a status symbol and for additional space. The house filled the whole lot, and shared common walls with the houses on either side. It was centred around one or more patios, and sometimes had a small garden or stable at the back (Larrea, et al, 1984, p.34-35). The rooms surrounding the patio did not have windows, unless they faced the street, otherwise they were illuminated by double doors opening onto the patio. The patios were used for the private domestic, social, and recreational purposes of the residents (Hardoy and Dos Santos, 1984, p.88). The number of patios and floors a house had, and the ornateness of the design

were functions of the status of the owner. In a house with more than one floor, the ground floor was used for business, the servant's quarters, storage and the kitchen, while the upper floors contained the salons, bedrooms, dining rooms. and chapel of the owner's family (Ortiz, 1979, p.29).

Throughout the colonial period, Quito experienced slow growth (Table 4.2)[2]. It's population grew from about 1,000 at its foundation to about 30,000 by the time of independence three centuries later (Sheck, 1969, p.67). While the urban population was thirty times larger than before, spatially, the city increased about fourteen times in size during those three centuries, from its original 8 or 9 hectares to about 130 hectares in the early Nineteenth Century. Accommodation of this growing population was accomplished by increasing residential densities in the centre, filling in the empty spaces that were designated in earlier plans but not built up, and sub-dividing lots. The blocks which originally consisted of four solars were divided into eight, and then sixteen, and sometimes more.

4.4 The Republican Period (1822-1890)

Although independence from Spain changed the region's political structure, it had relatively little effect on the economic and social structure of the society (Burns, 1977,

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[2]Population figures for the colonial period are difficult to determine and range widely because historical sources vary as to whether they are counting only Spaniards, only Mestizos and Spaniards, or include Indians as well. Thus Table 4.2 shows a rough estimation of population using various sources.

Table 4.2: Approximate Population and Areal Growth of Quito

Date	Population	Built-up Area (hectares)
1534	1000	8-9
1573	3000	31
1650	25-35,000	n.k.
1750	58,000	86
1780	59,000	117
1825	65,000	130
1850	75,000	n.k.
1897	85,000	n.k.
1904	n.k.	174
1922	n.k.	294
1930	130,000	n.k.
1941	150,000	497
1950	211,000	n.k.
1962	355,000	2,525
1974	600,000	6,902
1982	866,472	11,760

Sources: Achig, 1983, p.44, 68; Gomez, 1980, p.38, 45, 59, 61; Hamerly, 1973, p.80; Hardoy and Dos Santos, 1984, p.45, 46, 49; Sheck, 1969, p.67; Moya and Peralta, 1984, p.15.

p.88-92). The new republic's economy was regionally divided and poorly developed, with few links with the outside world except for the importation of needed equipment and manufactured goods from England. While the sparsely inhabited coastal region produced some tropical crops for export, and the eastern lowlands continued to be totally

ignored, the sierra remained a region of Indian subsistance farming, and large estates and textile workshops owned by the Criollo elite (Latin American born Spaniards) (Velasco, 1981, p.133). There was little change in the social structure except that now Criollos, accounting for less than 5% of the total population (Burns, 1977, p.88), were in control instead of Peninsulares (Iberian-born Spaniards), and mestizos (people of mixed Spanish and Indian blood) had a little more social mobility. The vast majority of the population, the Indians, experienced little change in their lifestyle with independence. The interests of the Criollo elite, particularly the sierra landowners, was represented by the Conservative party which dominated the Ecuadorean government from independence until 1895 (Martz, 1979, p.303).

Consistency in the nation's socio-economic structure meant that republican Quito remained physically and functionally much the same as colonial Quito. As the capital city of the republic, Quito's role as an administrative and political centre continued, only now without any responsibility to a higher authority. The economic activities of the city and surrounding region produced mainly for local consumption and trade with neighbouring regions. The elitist physical organization of the city focusing on the central plaza, which was established in the colonial period, remained intact with the maintenance of the hierarchical socio-economic structure of the society.

4.5 Liberalism (1890-1920)

Already in the first decades after independence when the conservative landowners of the sierra were politically dominant, a coastal commercial elite of bankers and exporters was beginning to appear who's interests were at odds with the elite from the sierra. During the Nineteenth Century Ecuador began to enter the world capitalist markets with increasing exports of cacao from the coastal lowlands. British, French, and later, American capital began to be invested in the small country, and international and national transportation and communication networks were diminishing Ecuador's international isolation and national regionalism. A rural proletariat was forming on the coastal plantations based on wage-labour that was in sharp contrast to the pre-capitalist forms of peasant labour on the large highland estates. In 1895, the struggle for power between the agro-export capitalists of the coast and the traditional land-owning elite of the sierra erupted in a civil war, called the "Liberal Revolution". The liberal coastal elite, under the leadership of General Eloy Alfaro, emerged victorious, and began implementing the ideas they felt would promote their economic ventures and develop the economy. The Liberals sought to reduce the power of the church, the largest land-owner in the country, improve national education and social services, remove obstacles to free trade, ensure a flow of cheap labour to the coastal plantations, and establish financial stability that would

attract foreign capital (Martz, 1979, p.304; North American Congress on Latin America (NACLA), 1975, p.4). The liberal policies seemed beneficial to the export economy: cacao production increased five times from 1895 to 1920, and supported the expansion of the banking and import sectors of the economy (Velasco, 1981, p.148). However, the concentration of land ownership and power in the sierra remained essentially unaffected, and industrialization was never initiated.

After centuries of little change in the basic structure and organization of the city, dramatic changes began to take place in Quito with the liberal achievement of power and growth of the export economy. A railway from Guayaquil to Quito was completed in 1908, linking the nation's two major cities efficiently for the first time (Sheck, 1969, p.80). New commercial and industrial activities were established, such as textile manufacturing plants, four mills, breweries, international banks, insurance companies and trading firms. Labour began to specialize in the emerging industrial and service sectors creating an urban working class. There was increased immigration from the highland rural areas and smaller towns, drawn by the expanding employment opportunities.

The changes in the economic structure directly affected the organization of the city. Formerly, the city had been essentially an administrative centre supported by flows from its agricultural hinterland, therefore the internal

organization was based only on considerations of status and symbolism. Now the city began to produce not only for internal consumption, but also for trade, and thus required spatial differentiation related to the economic organization of production and consumption. Most of the new industry was located between the centre and the railway terminal on the southern edge of the city because this location provided ready access to the transportation routes, low cost unoccupied land, a local water supply, and the availability of a labour supply. Conveniently for the industrialists, a working-class residential district was established near the railway terminal. Several other new residential areas for working class people appeared on the edge of the city to the north, however, most of the flat valley floor to the north was already occupied by the weekend homes of the elite so the working classes had to build their homes on the steep valley walls.

4.6 An Agro-Export Economy (1920-1960)

At the beginning of World War One, cacao accounted for two-thirds of Ecuador's exports (Velasco, 1979, p.158), the rhythm of growth experience in the preceding two decades slowed down with the diminished markets and lower cacao prices caused by the war, the appearence of competitive African and Caribbean producers, and plant diseases which reduced Ecuadorean production. Later, Ecuador's cacao-dependent economy was further damaged by the

depression of the 1930's in advanced capitalist countries that effectively closed the export market. Instead of industrializing in this period, as many Latin American nations did, the Ecuadorean elite clung to tropical export crops to maintain their position, exporting coffee in the 1930's, and rice during the Second World War when Asian producers were cut off from Western markets (Velasco, 1981, p.187). The coastal agro-export elite "did not bear the brunt of this drastic decline in exports" (NACLA, 1975, p.6); rather the economy was maintained by successive devaluations of the Ecuadorean sucre which caused rampant inflation and a spiraling cost of living, and by the increased exploitation of the rural and urban working classes. Deteriorating conditions in the highlands as pre-capitalist agricultural labour structures broke down caused increased migration to the cities. The social and political unrest and agitation of the period was violently suppressed by the urban and rural elites intent on maintaining their favourable socio-economic positions (Martz, 1979, p.304).

The economic problems of the 1920's and 1930's caused major changes to the structure of Quito. The city's population began to increase rapidly with the flow of migrants from rural areas (Table 4.2), and the residential segregation of the socio-economic classes began to change from a concentric pattern with the elite at the centre, to division along the north-south axis of the city. This was

the beginning of the exodus of the upper-classes from the residences in the city centre that had been the residential location of the urban elite for centuries. Since expansion of the city to the east or west was restricted by the steep valley slopes, and the southern sector of the city was already occupied by industry and working-class residential areas, the elite spread out onto the flat, open valley floor to the north of the city centre. The landowning upper class, the traditional elite, moved to their "quintas", or country houses north of the city, while the new upper class, those who had become wealthy and powerful through industrial and commercial activities moved to the expanding northern edge of the city where they built compact but luxurious homes (Sheck, 1969, p.88-90).

This shift in upper class residential areas took place for several reasons. The factors which influenced the movement of the upper classes to the suburb areas in North American cities also applied to Quito: improved transportation access such as roads and streetcars between the city centre and the periphery, freedom from the crowds and noise of the central city, and open land for low-density development (Amato, 1970a, p.99). Furthermore, the fear of civil unrest and crime prompted the elite to separate themselves as much as possible from the lower classes moving into the city.

The rest of the residential zones were also shifting. The central areas abandoned by the elite were being

inhabited increasingly by lower-status residents. The growing professional and mercantile middle-class built residential areas to the north-east and west of the city centre, thus remaining near their places of employment, but avoiding the rising land values in the centre and in the upper-class residential areas to the north. The southern sector of the city continued to be the zone of working-class housing and of industry. The growing lower class could not take advantage of transportation improvements nor pay much rent, which left them with two housing alternatives: crowded living in the former elite residences in the city centre, or building shelters on the steep slopes near the centre and near the industrial areas to the south (Sheck, 1969, p.91).

With economic recovery in the period following World War II, the advanced captitalist countries expanded their involvement in the underdeveloped countries. This new form of dependent economic development triggered new economic growth in Ecuador. The rising price of and demand for bananas on the world market, and the decline of the Central American banana plantations due to plant diseases (Velasco, 1981, p.191) created the opportunity for Ecuador to establish a new export crop, and to become the largest banana producer in the world in the 1950's (NACLA, 1975, p.9). Like cacao production, banana production was mostly in the hands of Ecuadoreans, both large and medium-scale producers, however, American and European companies controlled the credit, prices, and export of bananas. Five

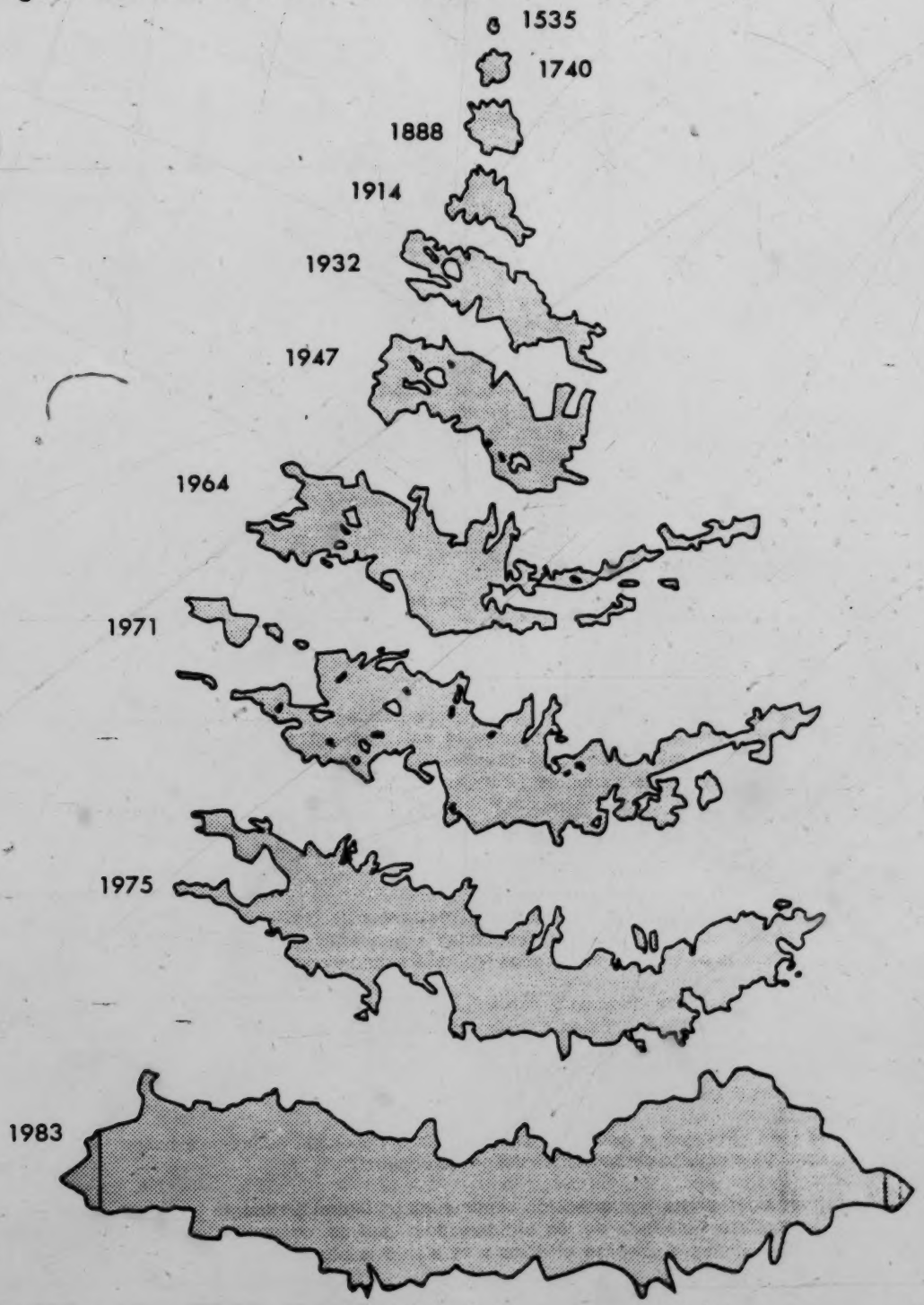
of these foreign companies controlled 80% of production (Velasco, 1981, p.197). Economic growth after the Second World War also included an expansion of the import substitution industry, a flow of aid and technology from the United States, and an urban construction boom.

The economic prosperity of the 1950's resulted in the first decade in Ecuadorean history without a dictatorship or a coup d'etat, as the various factions of the economic elite, the large landowners, exporters, bankers, and industrialists, were united by the favourable economic conditions which benefited them all (NACLA, 1975, p.10).

Even though economic expansion slowed after 1956 mostly because the United States resumed Central American banana production, Ecuador's population growth, maintained by improved healthcare, continued at a rate of 3% annually (Velasco, 1981, p.203). This created a growing sector of the population which could not be incorporated into production, and so moved into the urban tertiary and construction sectors, and into marginal employment in the cities.

Until the decade of the 1920's, the history of the city of Quito was basically the history of the "historic centre" (the original central core and today's inner-city; Figure 4.3). But beginning in the 1920's and increasing now with a construction boom and the rapid population growth of the 1940's and 1950's, the city was stretching out in the long, narrow valley in which it is situated. A new Western-style central business district was beginning to form immediately

Figure 4.3: The Areal Growth of Quito



Adapted from: CEDIG, 1984, p.19

to the north of the traditional central core. The north continued to be the residential district of the upper classes, while the south was that of the working classes. The lowest classes in the urban social structure were forced to live, often as squatters, on the steep hillsides which are difficult to build on and therefore have low land values and are not accessible for urban services.

For the "historic centre" the 1940's and 1950's were a period of deterioration, with increasing population density and declining housing quality. By this time the core blocks around the central plaza were totally dedicated to government, religious, and commercial functions, and contained no residences. Outside of these few central blocks, land use was mixed, with commercial on the front ground-floor rooms, and residential units in the back rooms and upper floors, similar to the colonial pattern. The difference now was that the houses were not occupied by one large, extended family as in the colonial period, but by renters. And with time, these rental units were divided into smaller and smaller spaces to pay for the rising value of the land and to absorb the increasing number of low-income people who wanted to live in this zone.

4.7 Modernization (1960-1972)

At the beginning of the 1960's the socio-economic structure of Ecuador was not very different from what it had been two decades earlier before the "banana boom" and

economic prosperity of the 1950's. The economy consisted of contrasting forms of capitalist agro-export economy on the coast, and large archaic agricultural estates in the highlands. The small industrial sector had stagnated in the 1940's, and the handicrafts sector accounted for 75% of the goods the country produced (NACLA, 1975, p.10).

With the extremes of wealth and poverty that existed in Ecuador, the United States, whose interest in and control of the Latin American countries had been growing, feared that Ecuador might become a "second Cuba". The American government realized that some degree of reform was needed "as both a deterrent to revolution and a requirement for accelerated capitalist development" (NACLA, 1975, p.10). Their policy towards Ecuador included the Alliance for Progress, a development for Latin American countries that emphasized agricultural reform and industrial development, and also massive investment and loans.

Thus 1960's saw the deterioration of the agro-export model as the basis of the economy, and attempts to diversify the economy, such as increased emphasis on import substitution industries and agricultural reform, and the growing involvement of American corporations in the Ecuadorean economy.

The 1960's were characterized by political instability. The United States government policy also included "counter-insurgency training for the army and police, vast amounts of military aid, and CIA subversion of leftist

parties and even slightly leftist-minded governments" (NACLA, 1975, p.10). These activites combined with power struggles among the various old and new factions of the dominant class, such as the landowners, exporters, bankers, industrialists, resulted in five changes of government in one decade, and none of the three elected presidents of those years completed their term (Martz, 1979, p.305).

The 1960's were a period of incredible expansion for Quito. The threats of agricultural reform spurred many large landowners of the sierra to begin capital-intensive modernization of their estates, causing a displacement of rural labourers to the urban areas. Quito nearly doubled its population in this decade (Table 4.2). The city continued to expand in its narrow valley, and by the mid-1960's it extended 20 kilometres from north to south, and only 4 kilometres across at its widest point (Figure 4.3). This physical expansion was characterized by spacious, single-family houses which ate up space on the northern and southern limits of the city, rampant land speculation, spreading commercial ribbons, further expansion of low-income dwellings on the hillsides, and little municipal planning or control.

For the historic centre, this period was a destructive one. "Tugurization", which means increasing population densities, and deteriorating living conditions, was occurring in most of the area. Residential population densities were very high, from 25 to over 50 inhabitants per

hectare in comparison to the rest of the city which had under 14 people per hectare (Sheck, 1969, p.101). At the same time the condition of the physical facilities was deteriorating because of heavy use and lack of attention by building owners.

4.8 Petroleum Era (1972 to the Present)

The following decade, the 1970's, was dominated by the emergence of a petroleum production industry with the North American discovery of oil in the eastern lowlands. Control of the government was of vital importance at this time because, unlike any of the previous export booms, the oil resources were the property of the state. Thus political power implied the ability to "decide the destiny of oil revenues, the investment pattern of the State and, in general, the course of economic development for the decade" (NACLA, 1975, p.14). Struggles for power among the various factions of the elite, the threat of a likely win in the upcoming elections by the populist candidate, Asaad Bucaram, and the foreign oil companies' interest in a stable government led to a bloodless military coup d'etat on February 15, 1972, military governments controlling the country for the remainder of the decade. Government attempts to establish "redistribution" programs and economic reform were prevented by the dominant classes who felt that their positions were threatened, and thus the new found wealth benefited only a minority. In 1974, one study showed that

Ecuador had one of the highest concentrations of wealth in the world, with the 40% of the population which was the poorest, having 6.5% of the total income, while the 20% of the population in the highest category received 73.5% of the total income (Chenery, et al, 1974, p.8-9).

The oil boom shifted the economic focus of Ecuador from the coastal city of Guayaquil to Quito, the national capital and a key point in the transportation of oil from the eastern lowlands to the northern Ecuadorean port from where it is shipped. Residential, commercial, and industrial expansion of the city continued during the 1970's with the inflow of petroleum profits and foreign and national investments. The most dramatic change was the completion of the movement that had begun in the 1960's, of the administrative, political, and commercial centre of the city from its historic position around the central plaza, to an area about two kilometres north. The new central business district is styled after the ones in advanced capitalist countries, with wide streets and steel and glass skyscrapers, and is occupied by the international firms which dominate Ecuador's economy (Plate 4.1).

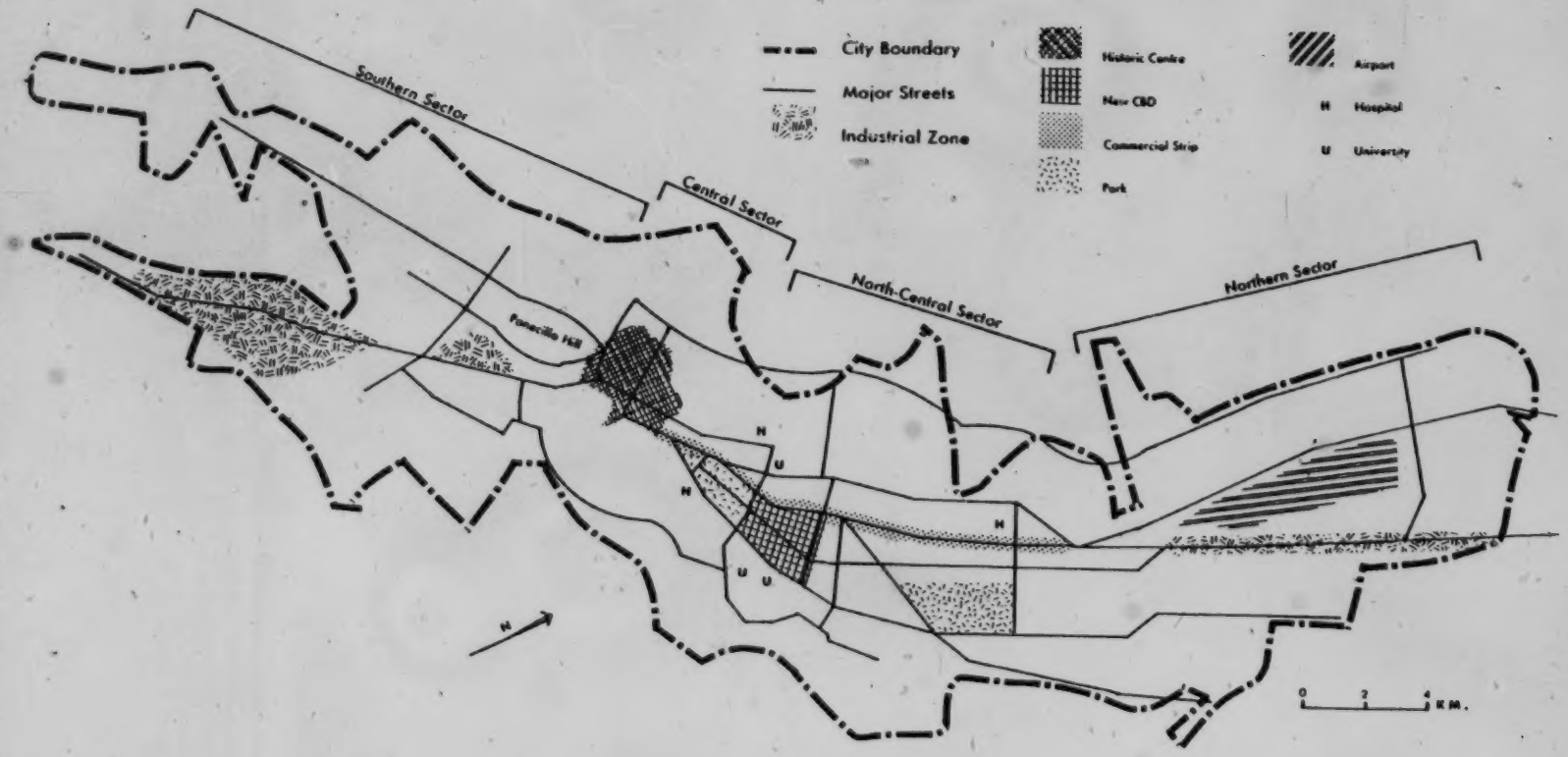
Since 1979, Ecuador has had fairly peaceful civilian government representing the interests of the elite, and basically maintaining the status quo. Although the economy continues its attempts to expand its export bases, petroleum and petroleum products are still 60% of all exports and (U.S. Dept. of State, 1982, p.6). Despite its economic

reliance on petroleum, Ecuador remains an agricultural nation, with 50% of the economically active population employed in agriculture, even though agriculture accounts for only 17% of the gross national product (GNP).

The census of 1982 showed Quito had a total population of 866,472, about 10% of the national population, and an area of approximately 11,800 square hectares. Still experiencing heavy immigration from the sierra and high natural growth rates, the city has an annual growth rate of about 5.7% (Gomez, 1980, p.59). Average population density is about 70 inhabitants per square hectare, yet this varies from a low of 23 in the northern residential areas and 18 in the new ones in the south, to highs of 147 in the centre and 144 in the older working-class neighbourhoods immediately to the south of it (Moya and Peralta, 1984, p.15).

Land use in Quito today can be divided into basically four sections. (Figure 4.4). The northern section, with the the lowest population density, is essentially residential, with several modern shopping centres, the airport, good transportation access to the centre, large parks and recreational facilities, and a strip of industry along the Pan-American highway out of the city. The sector labelled, the north-centre, contains the new central business district developed in the last two decades immediately to the north of the historic centre. As mentioned earlier, this is the focus of international business, and government administration, as well as the location of the two

Figure 4.4: Present Land Use in Quito



universities and a politechnical institute. The residential land use in the north-centre sector is essentially middle-class multi-family dwellings. The historic centre covers approximately 100 hectares and has the greatest population density. In the near south are quite densely populated working class residential areas, while further south the residential density decreases because the areas are newer. The southern sector also contains the major industrial and wholesale establishments. In the south and in some places in the north of the city, there are squatter-type settlements on the steep valley slopes, with few urban services and poor transportation connections with the rest of the city.

After the general neglect of the 1960's, the decade of the 1970's meant renewed attention for the historic centre. While the historic centre had been decreed a national cultural patrimony as early as 1945, it was in the 1970's that the value and need to care for this area was realized. In 1978, the historic centre was declared a Patrimony of Humanity by UNESCO, and in 1979, the Ley de Patrimonio Cultural was passed in Ecuador outlining government policy for the preservation and development of the historic centre. Initial policies focused on the tourism and cultural value of the area, passing laws concerning exterior decoration of the buildings so that they would retain the outward appearence of the last century, creating heirarchies of building preservation priorities for the monumental

Plate 4.1: The historic centre of Quito, looking north-east with the new Central Business District in the top right corner.

Plate 4.2: The case study block at the corner of Olmedo and Imbabura streets, looking south down Imbabura street.

religious and civic buildings, and setting up museums, while the residential function of the area was largely ignored. State as well as private interests were concerned with the possibility of greater profit returns from the land which was now worth much more than the amount of rent generated by current uses, and so many older residential buildings were converted into small commercial centres with exclusive boutiques and tourist shops.

4.9 Summary

Set in a narrow valley in the northern Andean highlands, Quito has a 1,500 year history as an urban centre. The physical structure of the city's core and inner-city was established in the colonial period, and remains much the same today. Quito's main urban function throughout all of its history, as an early indigenous urban centre, as part of the Inca Empire, within the Spanish colonial Empire, and today in an independent nation, has always been as an administrative and political centre. These functions have always been concentrated in the city's central core, while the surrounding ring of land, the "inner-city", has always been a mixture of residential and commercial land uses. During pre-conquest and colonial times, the upper-classes of the socio-economic hierarchy lived in this "inner-city" zone. As Ecuador began to move into the world capitalist market, and both the upper and lower circuits of the economy expanded, the commercial

functions of the central core and inner-city increased in importance. The upper-circuit spread from the central core creating a second commercial node to the north. Increased commercial activities and rising population densities as well as economic crises, led the upper-class inhabitants to abandon the residential zones of the inner-city in the 1920's and 1930's. Their replacements, who were lower-income residents, paid for the rent of this high value, central land by sub-dividing residential space, and increasing residential density. The 1950's and 1960's were decades of neglect and deterioration in the "inner-city", but the past 15 years have seen growing interest in this area, in terms of historical preservation and physical renewal to make the land more profitable. Today, situated in the middle of a long, narrow city, the "historic centre" separates the working class, industrial southern sector of the city, from the middle and upper class residential areas and modern commercial activities of the northern sector.

5. General Characteristics of the Inner City of Quito

5.1 Introduction

This chapter reviews the existing information and research about the inner city of Quito. The first section delineates more accurately the zone called the "inner city" using several spatial variables. This is followed by a review of the findings of previous research in the inner city about the people who live in this area, and the economic activities that take place there.

5.2 Deliniating the Inner-city Zone

Up to this point, the inner city of Quito has been discussed as an undefined area within the historic centre of the city. In order to define this zone more accurately, there are several determining variables whose spatial distributions can be used: 1)symbolic value, 2)predominant land use, 3)land value, 4)population density, 5)colonial limits of the city. Each of these variables will be discussed separately and their spatial distributions mapped, then these outlines will be fitted together to provide a deliniation of Quito's inner city.

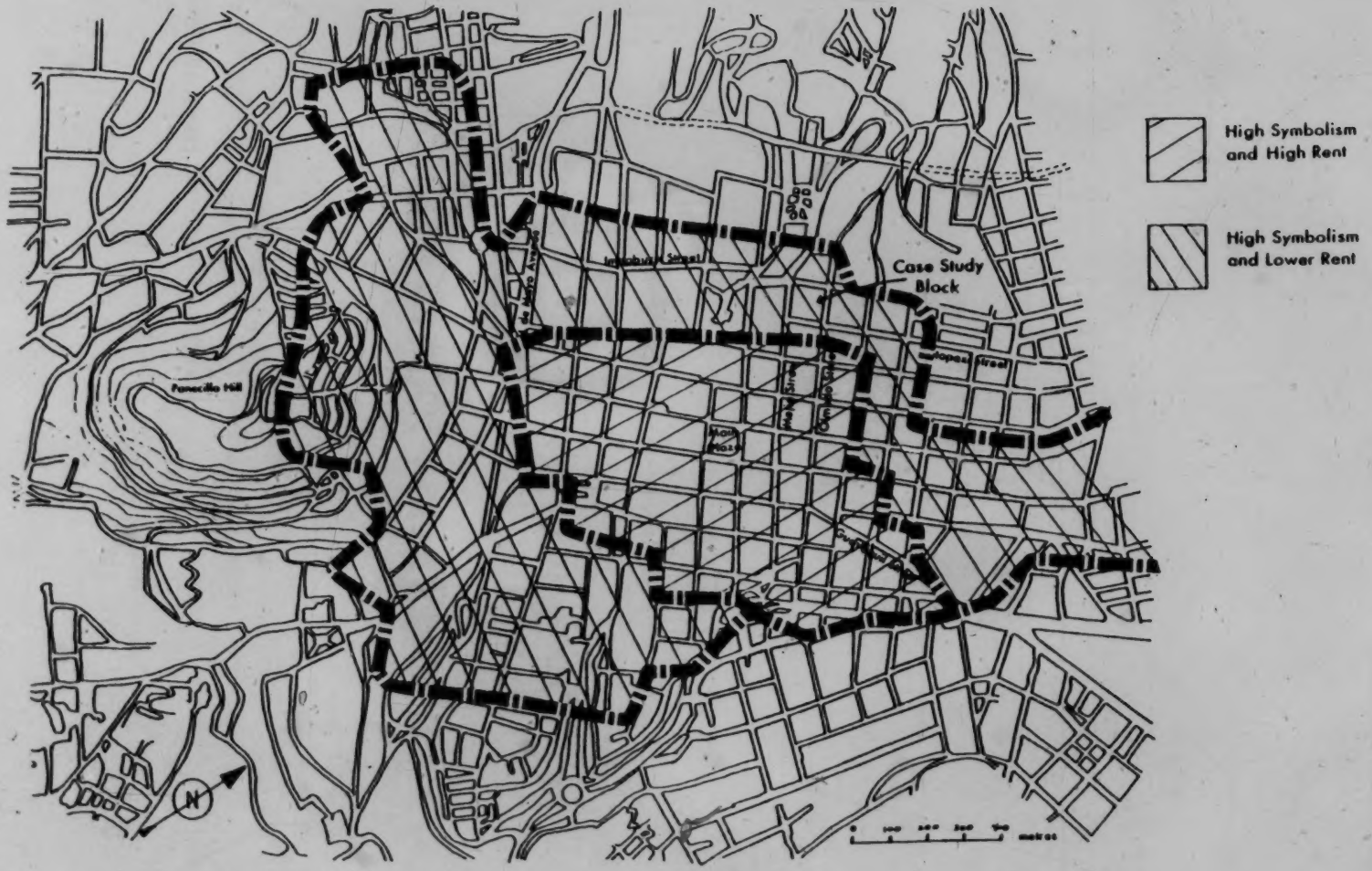
Some clarification is needed regarding the terminology used in this chapter to identify different urban areas. As described in the methodology chapter, the Municipality of Quito has defined the whole central section of the city as the "Historic Centre". The "inner city" being delineated

here is a ring of blocks within the Historic Centre surrounding a small "central core" that has the main plaza as its focal point.

5.2.1 Symbolic Value

As noted earlier, the central core of a city is the urban focus: the symbols of prestige, power, and purpose are located there. One of the variables which can be used to measure this idea and map it spatially, is a synthesis of symbolic and rent values created by Herdoiza and others in a study in 1977 (Herdoiza, et al, 1977). These authors suggest that symbolism is the ideological meaning of space, and rent value reflects this meaning. Factors used to measure the symbolic value of space included: the existence of historical and civic monuments, the historicity of the area, the quality of the landscape, the concentration and quality of urban facilities, the accessibility of facilities, urban centrality, the cleanliness of the area, and the orientation of development in the area (e.g.: construction of taller, modern buildings) (As described in Peralta, 1978, p.56). The study suggested that "the social and political problems" characteristic of the inner-city, "occur in areas with a coincidence of high symbolism, high land values, and lower status inhabitants" (Peralta, 1978, p.58). Mapping the distribution of this variable, a combination of symbolic and rent values, resulted in a definite core area of high ratings surrounded by a ring of lesser ones (Figure 5.1).

Figure 5.1: Symbolic Value of the Historic Centre



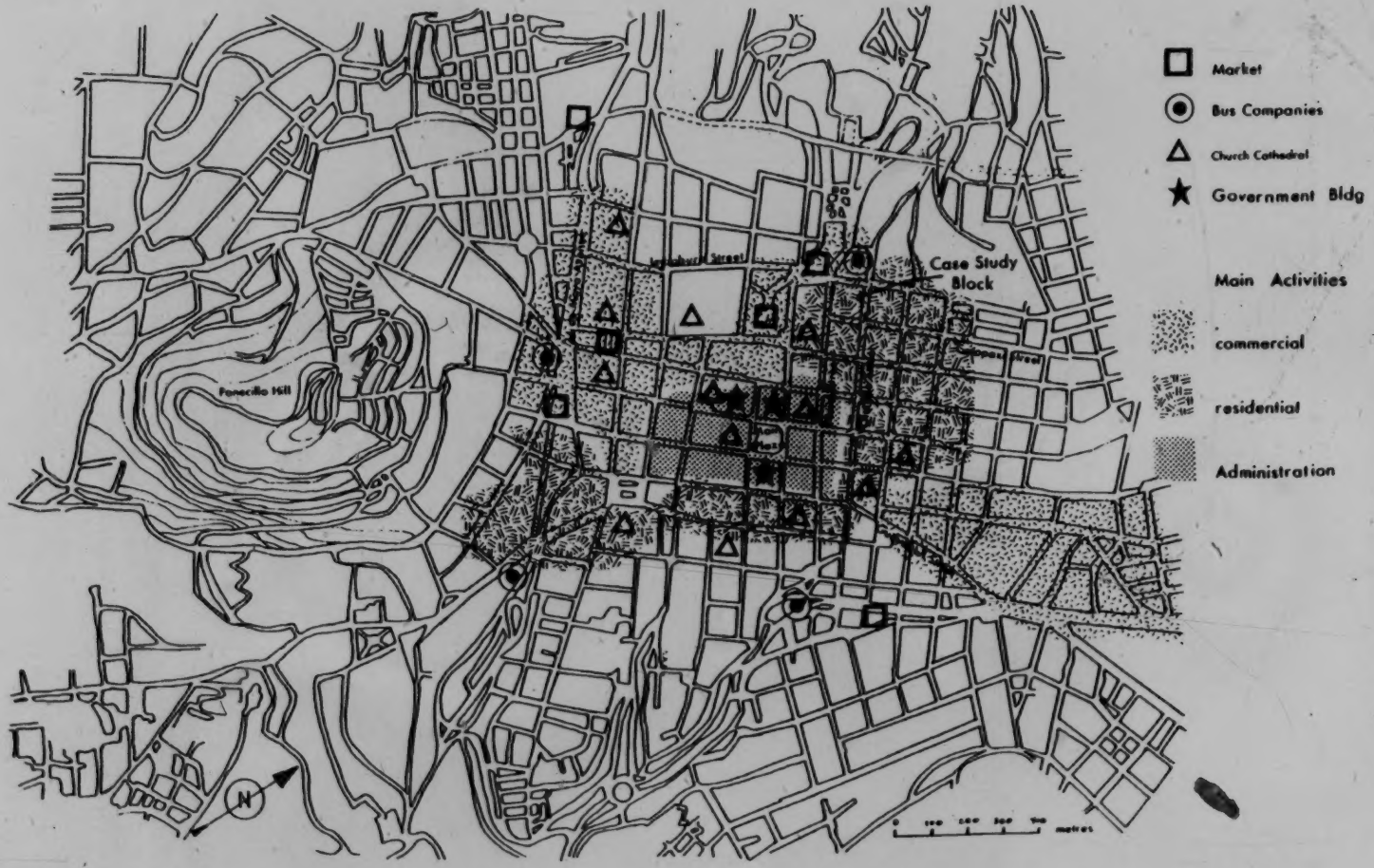
Adapted from: Peralta, 1978, p.56

This ring has less symbolic and rent value than the central core, yet it has higher values than those in the rest of the city; indicating that the inner city ring is part of the symbolic heart of the city. At the same time, the socio-economic status of the people who live in the inner city is much lower than the symbolic status of the zone.

5.2.2 Land Use

The inner city can be differentiated from the central core of the city on the basis of land use and the location of important features (Figure 5.2). While the historic centre as a whole has lost many of its original functions with the movement of the commercial and administrative centre to the north, the central core of Quito remains the symbolic centre of the city. The Government Palace and Municipal Hall are here, as are many cultural facilities including: 2 libraries, 8 museums, the national theatre, and 5 movie theatres. The central core also continues to be the location of public protests, demonstrations, parades, and celebrations. Although the universities have moved to the northern sector of the city, the historic centre still contains a high concentration of the city's educational facilities, serving both the central area and the southern sector with 14 highschools and 16 technical and vocational schools (Cepeda, et al, 1980, p.224). While the head-offices and stores of most companies have moved to the new central business district, many still have smaller offices and

Figure 5.2: Land Use and Features in the Historic Centre



stores here, and there is a sizable upper circuit shopping area located near the central plaza.

In contrast, land use in the inner city is more a mixture of commercial and residential uses, with the residential one becoming increasingly dominant the further from the centre one goes. One study indicated that in the central core only 27% of the area was used for housing, while in the inner city, 60% of the space was residential (Convenio, in Larrea, et al, 1984, p.58). While containing approximately the same amount of land used for commercial purposes as the core, those in the inner city are mainly lower-circuit activities such as markets, small family-operated shops, and street vending areas. The inner city also has more space used for lower-circuit production activities like artisan workshops and small industries, and less space used for administration than the central core (Convenio, in Larrea, et al, 1984, p.58 and Cepeda, et al, 1980, p.211).

Land use activity can also be differentiated vertically. A study in 1980 (Cepeda, et al, 1980, Maps 6i, 7i, 8i), revealed that the central core tends to have more administrative and commercial uses on all floors, while the inner city has commercial and artisanal uses on the first floor, residential space with a few workshops and services on the second floor, and if the house has a third floor, it is almost always used exclusively for residences (Cepeda, et al, 1980, p.211; Hardoy and Dos Santos, 1984, p.25).

The land use in this area is not static, but appears to be changing in definite directions. Over the years residential use has been declining. Between 1962 and 1979 the residential population of the central part of the historic centre dropped from 17,360 to 12,272 (Cepeda, 1980, p.203). Another study showed that while 51 of 86 blocks in the central nucleus continued to have the same predominant uses in 1979 as they did in 1976, 26 of the blocks either increased commercial use or decreased residential use in that period (Cepeda, 1980, p.216). Besides commercial uses, warehouses and parking lots are increasingly occupying space in the historic centre. In the inner city it was recorded that the residential spaces that changed uses between 1974 and 1979 are now used in the following ways: commercial and workshops, 38%; warehouses, 12%; offices and professional uses, 22%; renovated for other uses, 13.5%; and unoccupied or waiting for renters, 14.5% (Convenio, in Larrea, et al, 1984, p.61).

Differentiation of the core from the inner city can also be made by the condition of the buildings. While the historic monuments and symbolic areas of the core are kept in fairly good condition, it is the residential and commercial areas of the inner city that are most obviously in poor condition and lacking maintanence (Cepeda, et al, 1980, p.240-241; Larrea, et al, 1984, p.60 Hardoy and Dos Santos, 1984, p.109).

5.2.3 Land Values

Until the appearance of the new central business district to the north, land in the historic centre was the most valuable in the city. Today, however, the land in the new central business district is worth almost twice as much as the land in the historic centre. Even so, being an important symbolic zone with some administrative and commercial functions, the historic centre remains a second peak of valuable land in the city (Carrión, D., 1979, p.53-57).

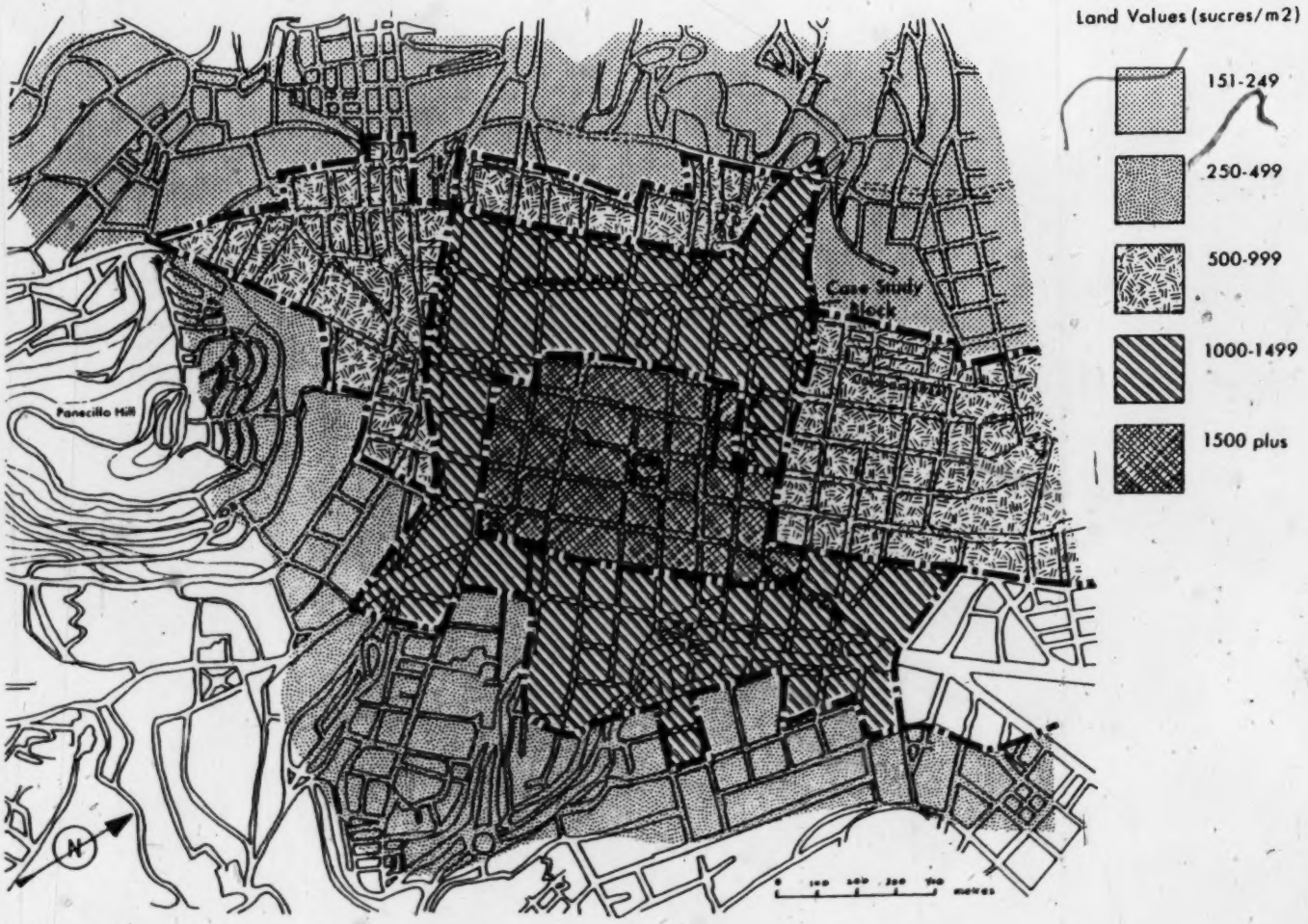
Land values in the historic centre rose from 600 sucres per square metre in 1962 to 800 sucres in 1975 (Carrión, D., 1979, p.52). In 1979 tax assessments by the municipal government indicated that the average value of land in the historic centre was worth 1000 sucres per square metre (Cepeda, et al, 1980, Figure 4i), while 1982 values ranged between 6,000 and 10,000 sucres per square metre (City of Quito, Depto. de Catastros y Valuos). This increase can partly be ascribed to a decline in the value of the Ecuadorean sucre from 18 to the American dollar in 1967, and 25 in 1977, to 120 sucres to the American dollar in 1985 (Steve, 1975-76). Eliminating the inflation factor, the land value per square metre approximately doubled between 1962 and 1982; not a great increase over two decades. Most of this increase occurred in the last few years with the growing interest in historic conservationists and commercial developers in the historic centre.

Relating these land prices to the ideas discussed earlier, the conjunction of valuable land, prestigious locations, and low-income, low-status inhabitants results in crowded living conditions, and some building owners interested in renovating the land for more profitable uses. The two conditions taken together partially explain the decline in residential use and the concomitant increase in commercial use of land in the historic centre (Figure 5.3).

5.2.4 Population Density

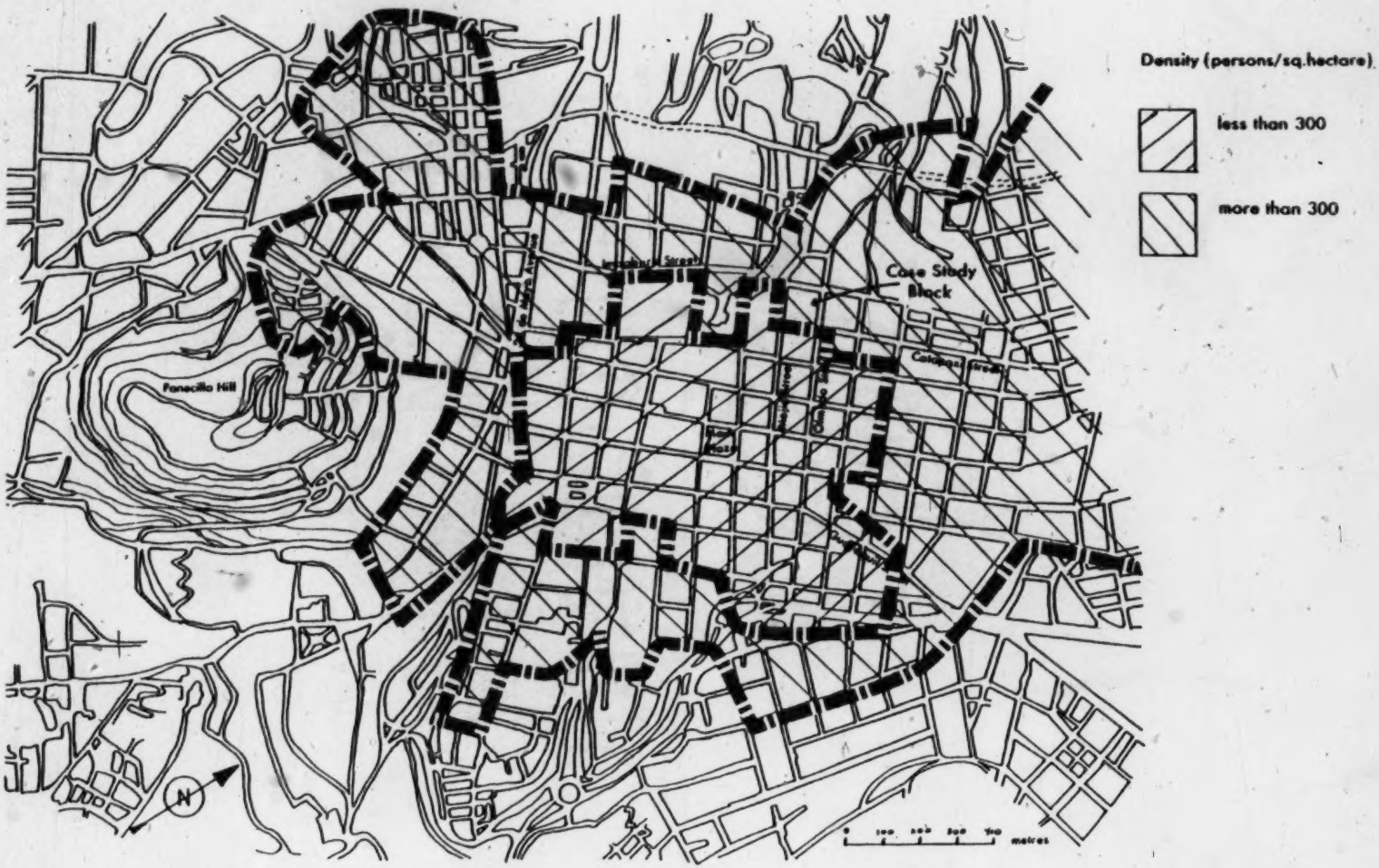
High population density is a common characteristic of the inner city, since lower-income residents must crowd in order to pay for the price of the land (Figure 5.4). However, declining residential use in the historic centre means that gross population densities have been declined. Densities for the central area of the historic centre were 282 inhabitants per square hectare in 1962, decreasing to 242 inhabitants per square hectare in 1974, and then 199 inhabitants per square hectare in 1979 (Cepeda, et al, 1980, p.226). The population densities in the inner city are higher, estimated at 500 inhabitants per square hectare in 1979 (Convenio, in Larrea, et al, 1984, p.56). The blocks with the fastest declining populations, those that have declined 50% or more in the last 20 years, are those around the main plaza, and adjacent middle-class commercial streets, while the inner-city blocks, such as those around San Fransicso church have declined less than 24% in the last

Figure 5.3: Land Values in the Historic Centre



Adapted from: Herduiza, 1977, Map 8; Castelo, 1980, Map 4

Figure 5.4: Population Density in the Historic Centre



Adapted from: Castelo, 1980, p.226; Gomez, 1980, p.63; Atlas Geografico de Ecuador, 1973, p.63

two decades.

However, declining population densities do not necessarily signify improved living conditions. Former residential spaces are being used for commercial and other purposes, and households continue to have small space-to-member ratios. One study in the historic centre indicated that 66% of households had more than one person per room, with as high as ten people living in one room (Farrell and others, 1980, Table #3).

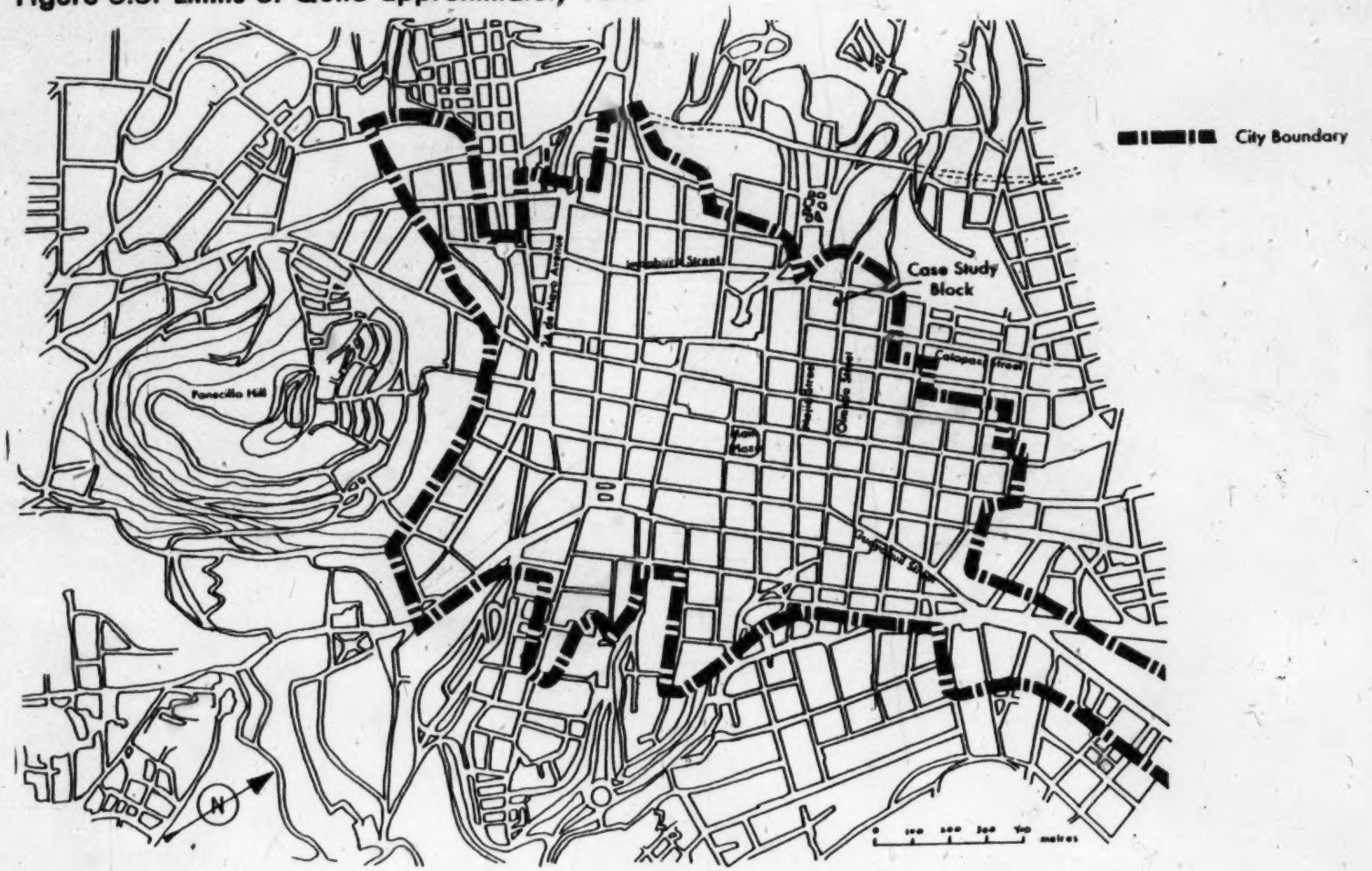
5.2.5 Colonial City Limits

The land which is now the inner city was originally built up during the colonial period. Thus the colonial outer limit of the city coincides closely with the outer edge of the contemporary inner city as identified by the previous variables. The map which comes closest to depicting Quito at the end of the colonial period is the 1840 "Plano de la Comisión Geodésica", made by the French Geodesy Commission. Outlining the 1840 city limit on a current map of Quito (Figure 5.5) creates a boundary approximately six or seven blocks from the central plaza in all directions except to the east, where the boundary is only four blocks from the plaza.

5.2.6 Delineation of the Inner City

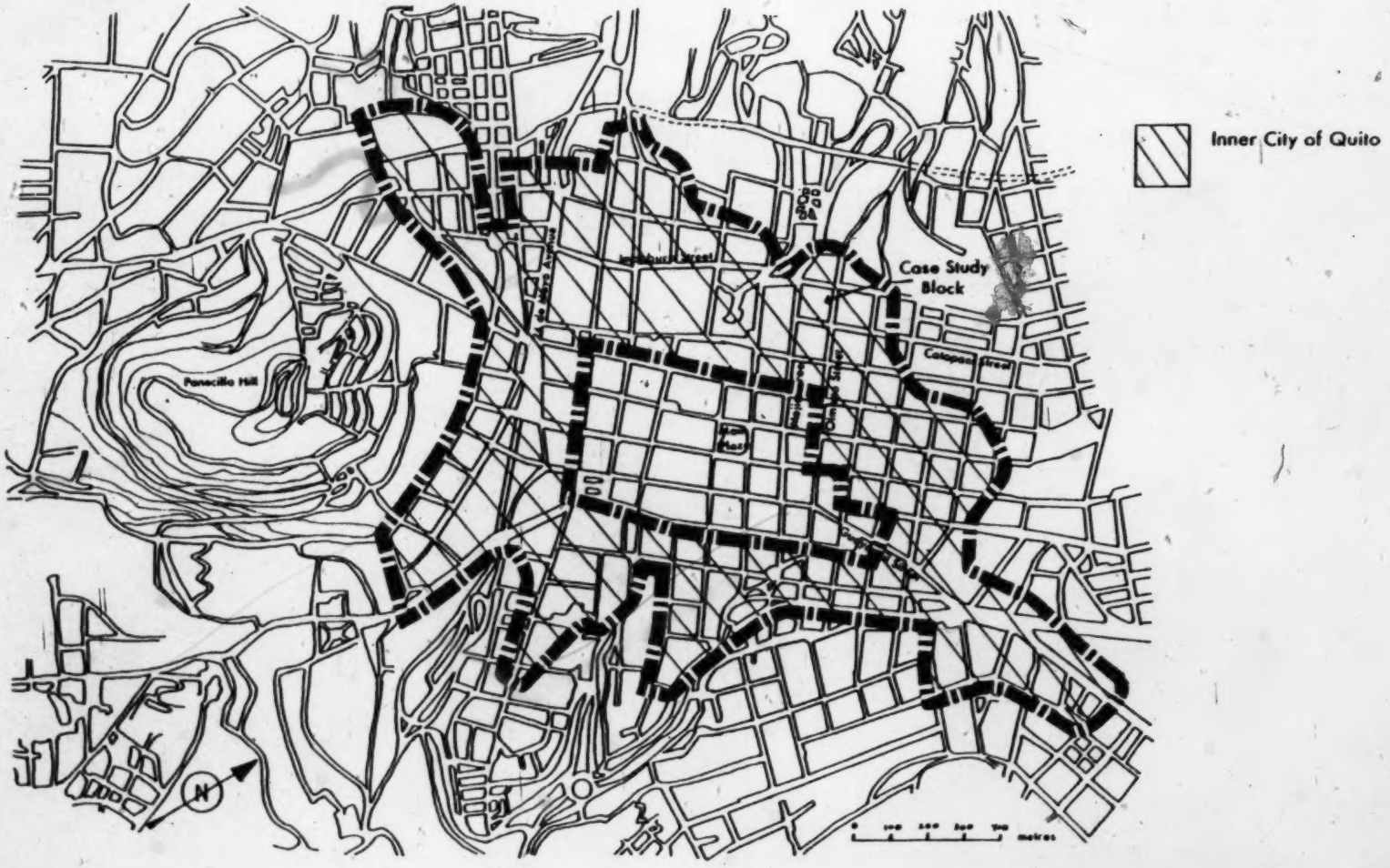
The inner city of Quito can be identified using a sythesis of these variables (Figure 5.6). Located within the

Figure 5.5: Limits of Quito approximately 1840



Adapted from: Carrion,D., 1979, p.26; Paz y Mino,1959, Map 4

Figure 5.6: Delineation of the Inner City of Quito



historic centre of the city, it forms a ring of blocks around the central core of the city. The central core continues to be the symbolic centre of the city, while the inner city immediately around it, is of lesser symbolic value but still important within the city. Space in the central core is mainly used for government, administrative, and religious purposes, and for a small upper-circuit commercial sector. Inner-city land use is a mixture of lower circuit commercial activities and low-income residential uses. Land values are lower in the inner city than in the central core, yet still higher than land values outside the inner city. And finally, the inner city forms a ring of high population densities around the central core.

Delineation of the inner city in this way, illustrates some of its distinquishing features: origins in the colonial period, high symbolic value within the city, lower-circuit commercial and residential uses of space, high land values, and high population density.

5.3 Social Characteristics

5.3.1 General Population Statistics

No exact figure for the population of the zone identified as the inner-city exists. However, using known figures for various parts of the historic centre, an estimate can be made. The total historic centre was reported to have a population of 224,640 people in 1984 (Larrea, et

al, 1984, p.57). The ring of blocks identified by the Convenio had 23,192 inhabitants in 1979 (Naboa, 1980, p.13). Given that: (1)the area deliniated as the inner-city has about the same population density as the Convenio ring, (2)the area has been declining in population since 1979, and (3)it is about three times the size of the ring, the population of the inner city can be estimated as roughly 70,000, or approximately one-third of the population of the historic centre and 10% of the total population of Quito.

The population characteristics of the inner city are slightly different from those of the city as a whole. First, a larger proportion of the inhabitants of the inner city are older (Table 5.1). While 70% of Quito's inhabitants are under the age of 30, and only 11% over 50 years of age, the historic centre has 65% of its population under the age of 30, and almost 15% over the age of 51 (Castelo, et al, 1980, p.113; Plan Quito, 1984, p.138). Clearly, fewer families with children, and more older people live in the inner city, probably because the housing in this area is cheap and near employment opportunities and urban services, and possibly because of traditional preference. However, residential units are small and open space for children is limited.

There are slightly more female urban dwellers (52%) than male in Quito, and in the inner city the difference is even greater. (Plan Quito, 1984, p.131). A sample survey of the inner city in 1984, (Larrea, et al, 1984, p.137), suggests that the female portion of the population is almost

Table 5.1: Age Characteristics of Quito and the Inner City

Age Group	Quito	Inner City
0-29 years	70%	65%
30-49 years	19%	20%
50 years and over	11%	15%

Source: Adapted from Castelo, et al, 1980, p.113, and Plan Quito, 1984, p.138.

55% of the total. The female residents also tend to be older than the male; only 20% of the males are 41 years and older, while 25% of the women are in this age bracket (Castelo, et al, 1980, p.113).

Households in the inner city tend to be smaller than the average household in the city, although this may be changing. While the city-wide average in 1980 was 5.1 people per household (Plan Quito, 1984, p.185), a study of the inner city in 1979 indicated that half (49.5%) of households consisted of one to three members, 37% of four to six members, and the remaining 13% of households had seven or more members (Convenio, in Larrea, 1984, et al, p.54). A sample survey in 1984 suggests that households of four to six members have increased by 11% in 5 years, to 45% of the total, and now replace the smaller, one to three member households as the majority (Larrea, et al, 1984, p.133).

Like most Latin American countries, Ecuador is experiencing marked migration to the cities. The rural-urban migration is a result of a combination of factors influenced by the country's particular socio-economic situation. The most recent wave of heavy migration to the cities in Ecuador in the last two decades is caused by the increasing

inability of peasants to make a living in impoverished rural areas, the expansion of large, capital-intensive farms in other areas, and the employment opportunities that exist in urban areas in both circuits of the economy as a result of the petroleum industry. Guayaquil, the port city of Ecuador, is the main pole of attraction for migration in the coastal region, and Quito is for the sierra. While there is some migration from the sierra to the coastal region, there is practically none from the coast to the sierra (Teran, 1984, p.256; Blakemore and Smith, 1971, p.290).

The function of the inner city as a receptor of migrants means that a high proportion of the population of this zone is not born in Quito. Figures on the percentage of the population of the inner city who are migrants from 51% to 62% (Larrea, et al, 1984, p.137; Castello, et al, 1980, p.113; Cepeda, et al, 1980), and this is higher than the 43% migrant population in Quito as a whole (Hardoy and Dos Santos, 1984, p.85).

Reflecting the national migration patterns, a case study of a block in the inner city indicated that the majority of the migrants (82%) come from the sierra, while the remainder come from the the coastal lowlands and from the Eastern lowlands. (Farrell and others, 1980, Table #1). Approximately 60% of these migrants (Castelo, et al, 1980, p.95; Larrea, et al, 1984, p.53) have lived in Quito less than 10 years. However, 25% of the migrants have lived in the historic centre more than 10 years, and 15% more than 20

years, which suggests that many migrants remain in the central city permanently.

Figures on the level of educational attainment of inner-city residents, indicate that 35 to 45% of the population has some primary education, and another equivalent amount has some secondary education (Larrea, et al, 1984, p.134; Castelo, 1980, p.113; Farrell, et al, 1980, Table #1). Between 7 and 14% have attended some university or other superior educational institution. Only 2 to 9% have had no education or are pre-school children. These figures seem to show a remarkably well-educated population; however this could also reflect the large number of students who come from outside Quito to attend school and live in the historic centre because the rents are cheap and there is easy access from this area to all the major educational institutions in the city.

5.3.2 Occupation and Income

Approximately 60% of the inhabitants inner city do not work full-time outside the home, these include students, homemakers, and retired people (Larrea, et al, 1984, p.135; Farrell and others, 1980, Table #1; Cepeda, et al, 1980). The remaining 40% of the residents of the inner-city are considered economically active.

A detailed classification of the economically active population by occupation does not exist for the inner city. One partial study of the historic centre indicated that

between 15% to 20% of the working population are in each of the following occupation categories: professional and technical; office employees; and personal services such as servants, guards, waiters and waitresses, barbers and hairdressers (Castello, et al, 1980, p.113). The remaining 14% includes administrators, drivers, industrial workers, and other undeclared occupations. These proportions are similar to occupation breakdowns for the city as a whole (Ecuador, Instituto Nacional de Estadistica y Censos, 1980). Another study, this one on a block within the inner city (Farrell and others, 1980) and with different occupation categories, demonstrated differences between the inner-city and city-wide occupation structures (Table 5.2). This block has a larger number of salespeople and artisans, and fewer professionals, except for teachers.

The official minimum salary in Ecuador was raised from 6,600 to 8,500 sucres per month in 1985 (approximately 80 sucres to the Canadian dollar). Among those jobs covered by the official minimum salary are private employees and teachers. The minimum wage for domestic employees is about 4,000 a month, while truck drivers' wages start at 10,030 per month (Interview, Dept. de Salarios, Minimos, Ministerio de Trabajo, Quito, July, 1985).

However these minimum wage laws only cover those government and upper circuit establishment positions which have regular salaries or wages, and most jobs, especially those in the lower circuit, are not regulated by these laws.

Table 5.2: Occupations of Inner City Residents

Occupation	Percent
Private Employees	31.0%
Public Employees	17.0%
Saleperson in fixed locale	15.0%
Artisan (self-employed)	10.5%
Mobile Vendor	7.5%
Factory Workers	6.5%
Drivers	5.0%
Teachers	5.0%
Artisan (dependent)	1.5%

Source: Farrell and others, 1980, Table #1.

As Table 5.3 shows, the majority of residents in the inner city have incomes below or near the official minimum wage.

Even so, incomes close to the official minimum are below the amount needed by a family. A study by the Central University (Cambio, 1981) showed that five years ago, when the minimum salary was 4,000 sucres per month, a family of five needed 4,190 per month for food alone, and food is only 40% of the family budget. The cost of food has more than doubled in the last 5 years, so the present minimum salary continues to be deficient. To overcome this, there is usually more than one family member employed full-time. In the average household in Quito three of the five members work full-time (Plan Quito, 1984, p.142,200). In addition, often children and elderly family members work in family income-generating activities or in part-time work outside the home.

The evidence clearly indicates that the majority of the economically active residents of the inner city work either in the same building in which they live, or within the

Table 5.3: Majority of Incomes in the Inner City

Year	Majority Income	Official Minimum Wage	Source
1977	90% below 3000		Hardoy, 1984, p.66
1979	52% between 3000-10000	4000 (1980)	Convenio, 1979
1984	70% between 3000-10000	6600 (1984)	Larrea, et al, 1984

historic centre near their place of residence. It was found in 1979 that 76% of inner-city residents worked in the historic centre and 56% of these worked in the same building as they lived (Convenio, in Larrea, et al, 1984, p.134). A case study of three inner-city blocks in 1984 (Larrea, et al, 1984, p.134) showed a slight decrease, to 56% of residents working in the historic centre, and only 46% of these working in the same building as they had their residence. A study of the residents of one city block, who were self-employed, suggested that this group has a greater tendency to work near their place of residence, as 92% worked within the same block or within the historic centre, and 5%, presumably mobile vendors, had no fixed place of work. It is likely that they moved around within the historic centre (Farrell and others, 1980, Table #1). The high proportion of people whose place of work and residence are within the same building or near one another, is similar to the pre-industrial city before differentiation of space based on the division of labour and production associated

with industrial capitalism (Walker, 1978, p.175; Harvey, 1972, p.13).

5.3.3 Living Conditions

Types of housing in the historic centre include houses, apartments, rented rooms within houses, and self-built dwellings. The majority of inhabitants (60%) and the majority of households (65%) live in rented rooms within houses (Castelo, et al, 1980, p.95). The second largest housing type, apartments, shelter 32% of inhabitants and 27% of households. The small number of remaining inhabitants and households live in either single-family houses or self-built dwellings. Renting is clearly the dominant method of housing in the inner city. It is estimated that in 1979, 78% of all inner-city inhabitants were renters (Convenio, in Larrea, et al, 1984, p.55), and by 1984 this had risen to 88% (Larrea, et al, 1984, p.141).

Population densities in the inner city are high: 350 to 500 inhabitants per hectare (Esparza, et al, 1980, p.23). On the household scale, indicators of crowding are also evident. Approximately 33% of all households consist of one room, about 40% of two or three rooms, and 27% have four or more rooms (Larrea, et al, 1984, p. 54). Another study (Farrell and others, 1980, Table #3), of a block in the inner city, showed even smaller size households, with 71% consisting of no more than two rooms. A comparison of the number of household members with household size, showed that

44% of households had one room per member, while the remainder went as high as 10 people living in one room.

Rents range from 100 sucres to over 2,000 sucres per month per room, according to a 1982 study of a sample block in the inner city (Farrell, et al, 1980, Table #5). Another survey done in 1979, (Convenio, in Larrea, et al, 1984, p.55), found that rents were even higher, with 56% over 2,000 sucres per month. This means that approximately one-quarter of a person's monthly income is spent on housing. This is a significant amount considering that the lower a family's income is, the larger the proportion spent on the basic necessities of food and housing (Yeates and Garner, 1976, p.405). Among the lowest income families, such as those living in Quito's inner city, food takes a priority over housing, and takes the largest portion of the family income. Since even the low-income housing in Quito's inner city requires a sugnufucant amount of an individual's earnings it is no wonder that: (1)more than one member of the family must work full-time, and (2)many people prefer to live in squatter settlements where there is no monthly rent.

High residential densities, low rent-profits, and lack of maintenance because owners hope to use the land for more profitable purposes, have led to deterioration of the quality of housing in the inner-city. The government's interest that the area preserve its historic appearance so as to be a "monument to the country's past", and a profit-generating tourist attraction, has resulted in strict

laws regarding the maintenance of building facades in the historic centre. However, since renovating the housing in the area cannot be done profitably with the present low-income inhabitants, neither private developers nor the government is concerned with the present internal living conditions of the buildings. While most of the building facades are in acceptable condition, as required by law, the building interiors are usually in poor condition. Between 60 and 70% are considered in poor condition, 25 to 33% in average condition, and 7 or 8% in good condition (Larrea, et al, 1984, p.139; Esparza, et al, 1980, p.23).

One measure of living conditions is the provision of urban services to the inner-city residents. While almost all households have electricity, some have inadequate running water and sewage services. The majority (68%) shared a water faucet in the patio with other households in the building (Farrell and others, 1980, Table #4). Telephones are rare, with one study showing that only 25% of households had one (Larrea, et al, 1984, p.99). The large majority (78% to 91%) of households share bathroom facilities (Farrell and others, 1980, Table #4; Larrea, et al, 1984, p.99), many of which include only sinks and toilets, so public shower houses are common in the area. There is an average of five households or 17.5 people per bathroom. Between 10 and 20% have private bathrooms, used by an average of five people each (Larrea, et al, 1984, p.99; Farrell and others, 1980, Table #4). A stone tub and scrubbing surface for washing clothes in the

patio of the house is shared by an average of 7 households (Larrea, et al, 1984, p.99). However, another study showed that 40% of households had no laundry facilities at all, and used public facilties (Farrell and others, 1980, Table #4). The kitchen is rarely a separate room; more often a corner of one of the rooms is set aside for this purpose.

5.3.4 Reasons for Living in the Inner City

The reasons inhabitants give for living in the inner city are much the same as motives for living in corresponding districts in cities around the world. Accessibility to employment and education opportunities is very important. This area of the city offers a great variety of income-generating opportunities, especially in the service and exchange sectors that require low levels of skill and capital, and many of the city's educational institutions are within easy access of this area. In surveys, employment and education considerations were cited by the majority of residents when asked why they lived in the inner city. A survey in 1979 showed that 54% of the residents had this motivation, and another survey in 1984, indicated that 47% had this reason (Larrea, et al, 1984 p.139).

In addition, several other reasons were given for living in the inner city. Although not in the best condition, the housing in the inner city is economical in comparison to other areas of the city, and all of the

residences have urban services such as electricity and running water which most peripheral low-income settlements lack. Approximately 15% of the residents cite cheap housing as their main reason for living in the inner-city (Larrea, et al, 1984, p.139). It is advantageous for low-income urban dwellers to live near their place of work because heavy traffic makes travel on buses very slow at peak periods of the day. This is clearly illustrated by the vast majority of inhabitants; 76% to 92% work within a short distance of where they live, many within the same buildings (Larrea, et al, 1984, p.134; Farrell and others, 1980, Table #1).

5.4 Economic Activities

5.4.1 Classification of Activities

The economic activities of inner city can be classified in several ways. When classified by the type of function they perform, economic activities in the inner city are predominantly exchange and service functions, though there are a small number of production and administration ones. One census of the population economically active in the historic centre revealed 45% employed in the exchange of goods, 32% in the service sector, 15% in the exchange of information, and 8% in the production of goods, (Hardoy and Dos Santos, 1984, p.64). The number of people working in administrative occupations is unknown. The few government and private offices that remain in the historic centre

employ mostly people from the upper and middle classes who do not live in the area. However, there are links to the zone through lower-class employees, such as cleaning staff, policemen, drivers, and guards.

Another classification of economic activites is based on the dependence/independence of the worker. In the city as a whole, about 70% of workers are employed by others (Ecuador, Instituto Nacional de Estadística y Censos, 1980). In the historic centre, however, there seems to be a larger proportion of the workforce which is self-employed. The self-employed include two types of workers: those working in "pre-capitalist" methods of production adapted for the contemporary market, such as artisans, and those that respond to the needs of developing capitalism, such as those who open small businesses, or sell upper-circuit goods in the street, assisting in the distribution of upper-circuit goods.

A third way of classifying the economic activities of this area is by the socio-economic class of the people involved. One study of the historic centre (Andrade, et al, 1981), defined the socio-economic classes as: (1)the bourgeoisie, those who own the means of production and capital, and therefore, have economic and political power, (2)the intermediate classes, including those in bureaucratic, management, and professional positions, and (3)the "popular" or lower classes, those who do not possess capital, and must live by their labour. The study indicated

that the administrative and management activities of the historic centre clearly belong to the bourgeoisie and intermediate classes; all socio-economic classes are involved in exchange activities; and production in the inner city is predominantly an activity of the lower classes. This classification reflects the income opportunities available in the upper and lower circuits of the economy presented in Table 2.2 of the literature review.

5.4.2 Spatial Distribution

The spatial distribution of these economic activities seems to be associated with the areal divisions of the central core and the inner city made earlier (Figures 5.2, 5.6).

> ...[I]n the central part of the historic centre, the businesses are better equipped, and more specialized, and the products are more expensive; in other words, higher social classes manage these businesses. On the other hand, as one goes towards the periphery, investment declines, street vending increases, and the merchandice is destined for increasingly lower-class customers. (Bordoiza, et al, 1977, p.63; translation by author)

Thus, the predominantely bourgeoisie commercial area coincides with the zone of greater social status and higher symbolic value(Andrade, et al, 1981). This upper-circuit retail zone is concentrated around the central core, and extends along Ave. Guayaquil and Ave. 10 de Agosto, connecting it with the new central business district to the north (Figure 5.1). The lower-class commercial sector tends to be on the east, south, and west sides of the historic

centre with connections to the working-class residential zones in the southern part of the city.

5.4.3 Production Activities

Production in the historic centre is predominantly a lower-circuit activity. Goods are produced in workshops in rented rooms, hallways, interior patios, and in the streets. The majority of the goods produced in this area are for consumption by the lower-income sectors of the population (Andrade, et al, 1981). This type of activity belcngs to a traditional group within the city, whose way of life dates back to colonial times. At its heart is the skilled artisan working his/her trade in a small workshop part of the family's residence. Eight percent of the economically active population of the historic centre are involved in artisanal production, working with the following materials, and listed in order of decreasing numbers: cloth and weavings, leather, wood, and metals (Herdoiza, et al, 1977, p.70). Another study (Table 5.4), shows much the same proportions for the various types of artisan production but adds printing and publishing shops, which also form a large part of the production sector. Of the little known specifically about the different types of artisans, it seems that most of the clothing production is done by tailors and seamstresses with assistance from family members, while wood-working shops tend to consist of a craftsperson with the assistance of one or two employees (Hardoy and Dos Santos, 1984, p.63).

Table 5.4: Artisan Production in the Central Area of the Historic Centre

Type of Production	Number	Percent
Clothing	99	33%
Shoes	53	18%
Printing	32	11%
Weaving	30	10%
Carpentry	24	8%
Publishing	18	6%
Tinsmith	12	4%
Other	30	10%

Source: Castelo, et al, 1980, p.222.

5.4.4 Retail and Service Exchange

The vast majority, 92%, of those working in the historic centre are involved in the exchange of goods and information, and the provision of services. Almost half of these workers, 49%, sell goods, the majority of which sell food (90%) while the remaining 10% sell clothing and other goods. The service sector occupies about 35% of the workers, approximately half of whom are shoeshiners and the other half porters. The remaining 16% are involved in the exchange of information: 71% of these sell newspapers and magazines, and 29% rent telephones or work in the area of communications (Hardoy and Dos Santos, 1984, p.64).

These exchange activities take place in basically three types of locations: 1)rented spaces in buildings, 2)stands in markets or along the street, and 3)vendors who carry their goods or people with services to offer in the street.

Those with a rented space in a building usually have more well-equipped facilities, larger stock and a slightly higher income than market or street vendors, and often the

family residence is connected to the business. A study of the establishments of this type on one block indicated that over half of the operators were Quito-natives, and about one-third had been working in the present location more than 6 years, suggesting that these stores are not temporary operations nor easy to establish. Despite slightly better conditions, most of these stores are definitely small-scale, and clearly part of the lower-circuit economy.

Permanent markets usually specialize in either food or durable goods, and are surrounded by mobile street vendors. There is a network of food markets in Quito made up of 22 permanent markets and 11 periodic markets, called ferias, held once a week in various neighbourhoods (Cazamajor D'Artois and Moya, 1984, p.16). The larger permanent markets also have special "feria" days when mobile vendors set up around the market building, often more than doubling the number of vendors at the site. All except two of these markets are in the central and southern sectors of the city, or in lower-class peripheral neighbourhoods in the north; an indication of the markets' lower-income clientele. Goods at permanent markets include fresh food as well as cheap manufactured foods, and since they have lower overhead than shopkeepers, market prices are between 5 to 30% lower than shop prices (Bromley, 1974). Most of the fresh food comes from outside the city, and is initially unloaded and distributed through the city's three wholesale markets and the warehouse areas surrounding them. Processed and

manufactured foods come from wholesalers within the city and from the Ipiales market which specializes in imported manufactured goods from Peru and Colombia.

The historic centre contains three of the four largest permanent food markets in the city plus three smaller ones (Table 5.5). San Roque Nuevo, on the west side of the historic centre, is the largest market in the city; it contains 672 permanent stands, and another 897 vendors on feria days, and functions as a site for both wholesale and retail sales (Cazamajor D'Artois and Moya, 1984, Table #1). The other markets in the historic centre include the large San Francisco and Central markets, the smaller San Roque Viejo, and two platforms of permanent vendors near San Roque Nuevo. Because the municipality issues a limited number of vending permits in these markets, it is extremely difficult to become a vendor at one of these profitable locations.

The main permanent market for manufactured goods, including both food products and other goods, is the Ipiales market on the west side of the historic centre. Officially this market covers one city block, but temporary and mobile vendors also occupy another four or five blocks around it. The market originated in the late 1950's when the depot for inter-provincial buses from the north was established on this street and vendors began bringing contraband manufactured goods from Colombia. At the time Colombia's textile manufacturing industry was expanding, while Ecuador was relying on a "banana boom" to support her economy, and

Table 5.5: Food Markets in the Historic Centre

Food Markets	Number of Stands	Number of Feria Vendors
San Roque Nuevo	672	897
San Francisco	369	806
Central	438	87
San Roque Viejo	190	402

Source: Cazamajor D'Artois and Moya, 1984, Fold-out Table.

ignoring the infant industrial sector in the country. Thus there was a ready market in Ecuador for cheap Colombian goods, and this trade provided a source of income for many of the growing urban unemployed. Increasing numbers of vending stalls were erected, filling the streets, until eventually the municipality officially began to regulate the market and provide certain services such as electricity and water. In 1978 there were 711 vendors with permanent stands, and today the total is probably near 1000 (De La Cadena, 1976, p.92). The vendors with permanent stands must have municipal permits and pay rent for the space. The market specializes in manufactured clothing, processed food, and electronic goods from Colombia and Peru.

Mobile and street vending are probably the most visible commercial activities in the historic centre, and employ the largest number of people. In 1975 there were 10,246 mobile vendors in Quito, and by 1983 the number had nearly tripled to 29,575 (Hardoy and Dos Santos, 1984, p.62). The majority of these vendors are located in the historic centre. Although they are scattered throughout the historic centre on street corners, in doorways, and around the permanent

markets, there are three areas where these vendors are concentrated: around the Ipiales market, around the San Francisco market and plaza, and along Ave. 24 de Mayo (Figure 5.6). These vendors range from the person with a small briefcase full of goods for sale, to the one with several tables of goods displayed and a canopy for protection from the sun and the rain. Although some come in daily from the surrounding rural areas to sell, the majority are permanent residents of the historic centre, (Farrell, 1983, p.28-29), for whom this is one of the only means to make a living in the urban economy.

A survey of the mobile vendors around Ipiales, (Farrell, 1983), suggests that the majority are from the "secondary labour force", people in less productive cycles, such as the elderly, children, and women who have family responsiblies (Farrell, 1983, p.32). The typical mobile vendor is a woman who needs work with flexible hours so she can take care of her children at the same time, and which requires little capital or specialized skills, yet provides some of the money needed for family consumption. Farrell's survey indicated that 72% of the vendors were female, 76% were between the ages of 21 and 45 years old, and 72% were married, and an additional 23% were separated, widowed or living in a common-law relationship (Farrell, 1983, p.31). They had an average of three children each (Farrell, 1983, p.31). Forty-nine percent of the vendors said their previous activity was full-time homemaker (Farrell, 1983, p.31-32).

Farrell suggests that street vending is a "survival strategy for families". It has the "rationality of subsistence" because it is closely linked to the necessities of daily consumption and reproduction of the family, in contrast to the rationality of capitalist accumulation which is the basic principle of upper-circuit economic activities (Farrell, 1983, p.32).

Studies also suggest that street vending is a fairly stable occupation as approximately half of the vendors were born in Quito and the majority have lived in the city more than three years (Farrell, 1983, p.28-29). A survey of all the vendors in the city showed that 70% had lived in Quito for three to ten years, and a further 15% for more than 10 years (Ecuador, Instituto Nacional de Estadística y Censos, 1976). In the Ipiales area, the vendors have been even longer in the city; 45% have been Quito residents for more than 10 years (Farrell, 1983, p.29). The difference suggests that vendors with more fixed locations, such as those at Ipiales and other street vendors' concentrations, require more capital and experience since they have larger quantities and varieties of stock, and sell more expensive goods such as clothes, shoes, and electronic goods. It seems likely that it requires more time to establish a permanent market stall, while the street vendors scattered throughout the city tend to be temporary and smaller-scale, such as people selling cosmetics, vegetables, candy, cigarettes and lottery tickets.

5.5 Summary

The inner city zone of Quito can be identified by its colonial origins, high symbolic importance, high land values, mixture of lower-circuit commercial and residential land use, and high population density. Spatially, it forms a ring around the city's central core.

The attributes of the zone and the housing within it to a great extent determine the type of residents that live in the inner city. Residences are cheap, small, in poor condition, and close to urban services such as schools and transportation, and close to many work opportunities. Households tend to be small, and have low incomes, and tend to be composed of people such as students, young families attempting to establish themselves, poorer single-parent families, workers established in lower-level central-city commercial or government jobs, or in the lower-circuit economy, and older people who are either retired or working in low-level jobs. The population of the inner city includes two groups: a stable, long-time resident core, and a migrant population. The migrant population includes temporary residents such as students and seasonal migrants, people who live in the inner city until they have established themselves and then move to other parts of the city, and migrants who establish themselves in the inner city and stay there.

The inner city is mainly the site of lower-circuit retail and service exchange activities such as markets,

family-operated shops, and street vending, and a place for lower-circuit production, such as artisans and cottage industries. There is little administrative, management, or upper-circuit retail found in the inner city.

6. Spatial Characteristics of the Case Study Block

6.1 Introduction

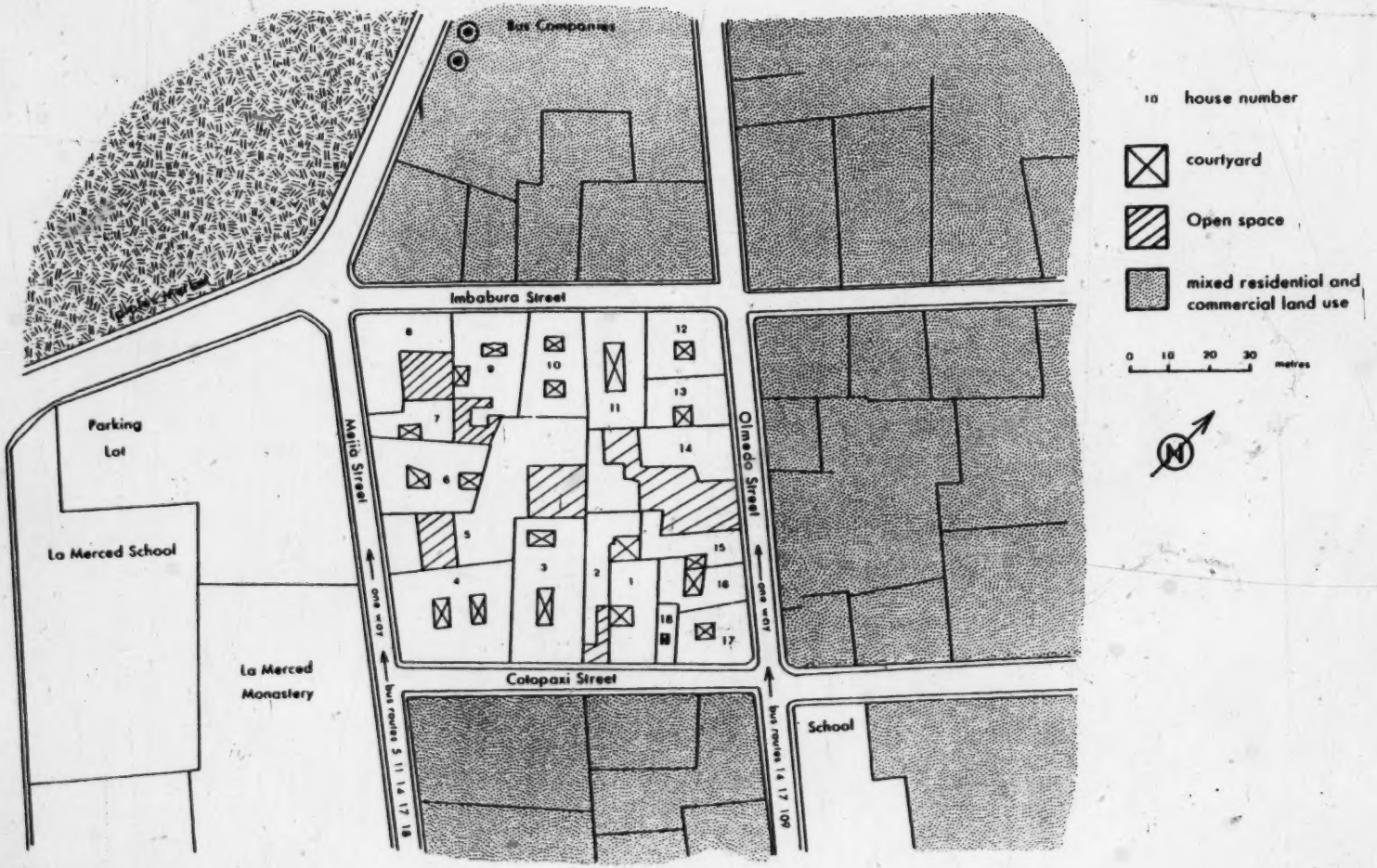
This chapter looks at the physical and spatial characteristics of the case study block in the inner city of Quito. First the block's history and position within the historic centre and the dominant features surrounding it will be described. Then the focus will shift to the block itself; its physical structures, the owners of the land and buildings, the way the space is used, and the physical condition of the buildings. Based on this information six basic types of building functions will be identified and examined to see how they represent the various functions and trends existing in the inner city.

6.2 Block Setting

The block selected for the case study is an almost square-shaped piece of land, five blocks to the northwest of the principal plaza of Quito. It lies between streets Imbabura and Cotopaxi running north-south, and streets Mejia and Olmedo running east-west (Figure 6.1).

The general characteristics of the block's position within the city are basically the same as those discussed in the previous chapter for the historic centre as a whole. Therefore, keeping those general characteristics in mind, this section will look at those aspects unique to the study area.

Figure 6.1: Case Study Block and Surrounding Area



This block appears on the earliest plans of the city of Quito made in the Sixteenth Century as one of the solares distributed among the city's founding Spaniards. It is difficult to know when the first buildings were erected on this block; however, by the early Eighteenth Century it appears built on all of the surviving maps. Although close to the administrative and commercial centre of the city, it had a predominantly residential character throughout the Colonial and Republican periods, and it still does so today.

The case study block and the blocks around it are similar to most of the blocks in the inner city: white, unbroken facades with regular rows of windows and doors fronting two- and three-story buildings occupied by hidden residences in the back and upper rooms, and small stores and artisan workshops opening onto the street (Plate 4.2). This continuous landscape is broken by the dominating Merced cathedral, monastary, and school located immediately to the south of the block. The Mercedenes were granted a two block piece of land in the first plan of Quito in 1534; in the decades that followed they built a cathedral and monastary. However, the present structure was built in the beginning of the Eighteenth Century after an earthquake in 1698 destroyed the original buildings. The number of monks living in the monastary has dwindled to 15 at present. It is these men who provide the services in the church and teach in the secondary school. The main entrances to the cathedral and school are on the opposite side of the buildings from the

case study block, and an eight metre brick wall faces the block on Mejia street (Plate 6.2). The wall forms a barrier to direct movement between the intensely commercial area on the south side of the church and the more mixed residential and commercial land uses on the north side where the case study block is located.

The commercial area on the south side of the church is the Ipiales Market, the main market for manufactured goods in the lower circuit that was described earlier. As was noted, the market spreads to cover a four or five block area. A concentration of vendors with semi-permanent booths is located at the corner of Mejia street and Imbabura street, opposite the case study block (Plate 8.2); thus the study area itself is affected by the proximity of these exchange activities and crowds that they attract.

There are several provincial bus companies located near the study area. It is customary in Quito for all bus companies serving one particular region of the country to be located within a block or two of each other. In this case, all the bus companies that serve the province of Carchi, Ecuador's northern most province are located in the blocks immediately to the west of the study area. Most of the travellers on these bus routes are vendors with goods from Colombia, which is located beyond Carchi. They make the five hour trip between the border and the Ipiales market frequently.

Plate 6.1: A Typical House Facade; House #9 of the Study Area

Plate 6.2: Mejia Street looking west, with the wall of the Merced Monastary on the left.

In terms of transportation links within the city, Mejia street is one of the main access streets from the historic centre to the Occidental Freeway which forms the western part of the Quito circular route. Both Mejia and Olmedo are one-way traffic routes to the freeway, and are often jammed with vehicles at rush hour (Plate 8.1). Mejia and Olmedo streets are also connections to the only road going up to El Tejar, a lower working class residential area built on the steep slopes of the valley to the west of the historic centre.

The valley in which Quito is located narrows at the historic centre, forcing all the city traffic travelling across the city through the narrow, colonial streets of the historic centre. Thus within four or five blocks of the study area pass buses going to all parts of the city. There are six bus routes which pass immediately beside the block. Five of these six originate in the residential area of El Tejar. Two of these terminate in the north of the city, one in the east and two in the south near the largest market outside of the historic centre.

The historic centre's general deficiency of public health facilities also affects the study area. The nearest health facility is a Medical Dispensary five blocks away operated by the government's social insurance organization. The nearest hospital is the overworked Eugenio Espejo, 2.5 kilometres away. There is a private medical clinic two blocks away, and one presently being built on the block

itself, however, patients are charged for services at these clinics, whereas at public facilities patients only pay for their medicines.

With the concentration of schools in the historic centre, it is not surprising that the case study block is surrounded by them. Within a two block radius there are two elementary schools for local students and three secondary schools attended by students from all over the city.

One block to the north is a public laundry with running water, scrubbing stones, and a small area for hanging wet clothing. It is used by neighbourhood residents who do not have laundry facilities in their buildings and also by women who earn their living doing laundry for others.

There are neither public parks nor green spaces near the block. Until recently a small park called Hermano Miquel was located west of the Merced church-school complex, across from the study area, however it is now covered with a four level parkade, part with concrete forms for a vendors' platform which has never been completed, and the remaining triangle of land has been taken over by vendors' booths from the expanding Ipiales market (Plate 8.2). The beautiful cloister garden in the Merced monastary is not open to the public, and the small concrete plaza in front of the church is often filled with vendors. Two blocks away, near the public laundry, is a small concrete park with a few children's playthings built by the local neighbourhood committee. Behind this park are the steep ravines of the

side of San Juan hill, the only green natural area nearby; however, it is too steep for recreational use and is becoming polluted with garbage and sewage as people are beginning to put up small houses on the steep hillside for lack of other housing alternatives.

6.3 Land Use and Organization of Block

6.3.1 Physical Characteristics

The case study block has an area of 8280 square metres (.8 hectares) excluding sidewalks, and is made up of 18 lots. (These lots and the houses on them will be referred to by the numbers shown on Figure 6.1.) If the block was originally divided up in the Sixteenth Century it would have had four solares (lot units) which were later divided into eight. The present lots are the result of subsequent divisions between inheritors. Houses #1 and #2 are recent examples of this: when two daughters inherited a house approximately 40 years ago, they divided it into two with a wall in the middle. (Plate 7.2 shows the cement wall dividing the two houses.) Houses #15 and #16 also seem to be parts of what was formerly one larger house.

As the selection of this block for the case study indicated, the block appears completely built up on maps of the city made in the first half of the Eighteenth Century (1734, 1748, 1751). Even so, estimating the age of the houses presently on the block is a difficult if not

impossible task.

The owners themselves have little idea of the age of the houses, except for the older woman living in House #14, who built the house on an empty lot in 1943. Owner estimates of the age of their houses are indicated in Table 6.1. As a member of the National Institute of Cultural Patrimony points out (Viscanni, 1985), it impossible to determine the exact age of the buildings in the historic centre because of the numerous changes that have taken place in this part of the city. For example, until the first half of the Eighteenth Century the houses in Quito had only one story, yet all the present houses have two or three stories. The additional floors could have been built on top of the earlier one-story buildings, but more likely, the earlier buildings were completely destroyed and new buildings built in their place. The numerous earthquakes which Quito has experienced in its history (ie: 1797, 1868, 1949) have also destroyed many of the earliest buildings and new ones have replaced them.

It is equally difficult to determine the age of the buildings by the type of construction. Adobe bricks were used throughout the Colonial and Republican Periods, and until as recently as 30 years ago. Fifteen of the eighteen (83%) buildings on the block appear to be adobe underneath, but they have since been reinforced, repaired, or renovated with cement. The three houses without adobe walls are: House #14, constructed of cement by the present owner in 1943;

Table 6.1: Age of Block Houses

Number of Houses	Age of House	Years in which Built
6	50-99 years	1886-1935
3	100-149 years	1836-1885
0	150-199 years	1786-1835
2	200-249 years	1736-1785
11		

(Source: All data in tables from author survey unless otherwise noted.)

House #8, which has been gutted and rebuilt of cement in the past year; and House #5, which is being rebuilt inside with cement but the original adobe facade remains.

To determine the age of the buildings accurately a detailed architectural and archival study of each house is needed. A large house across the street from the case study block, on the corner of Mejia street and Cotopaxi street, was subject to such a study by the National Institute of the Cultural Patrimony and the discovery of the remains of stables and watertroughs used in the Seventeenth Century give clear evidence of the antiquity of the house. Unfortunately, none of the houses on the case study block have undergone such an analysis.

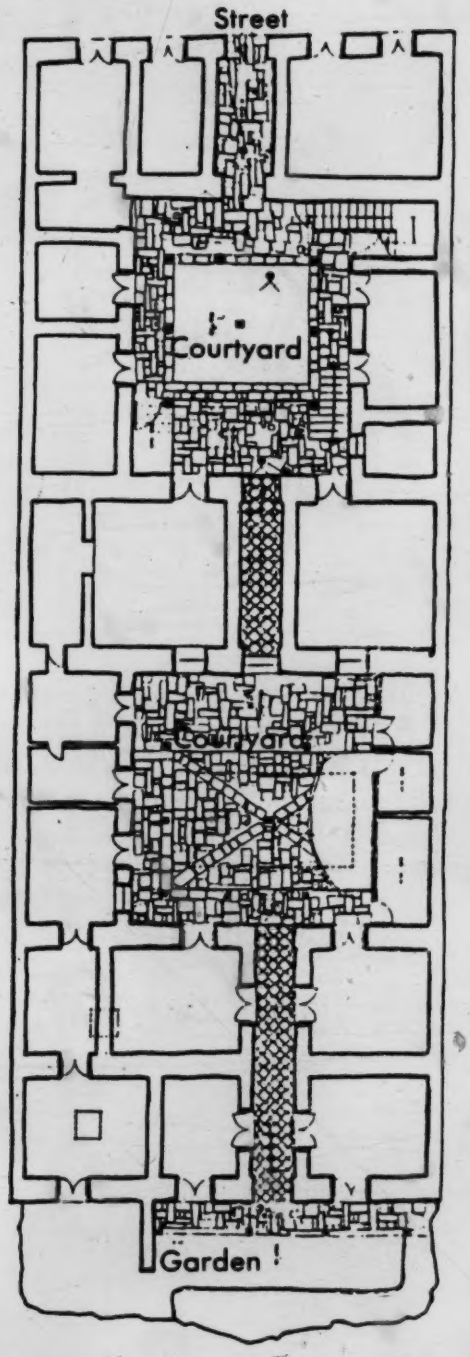
The design of the present block houses is typical of Nineteenth Century construction in Quito. While the facade styles and decorative details vary according to the current fashions, the basic layout of the houses changed very little since the colonial period: two or three stories built surrounding one or two inner courtyards, with symmetrical facades of identical windows, and a door from the street

leading into the first courtyard (Plate 6.1). The consistency of the house layouts is evident in the comparison of house features presented in Table 6.2.

A little over half of the houses (56%, 9/16) have two stories, and 44%(7/16) have three stories. Most of the houses (69%, 11/16) have 3 or 5 windows across the front and the entrance in the centre (44%, 7/16). The houses with an even number of windows across (2, 4 or 6) most often (in 67%, 6/9, of the cases) have the door on the right side. About half of the houses have one patio (8/15) and the other half have two patios. The stone or cement patios are surrounded by a covered walkway onto which the doors of all the rooms open. The second floor has a balcony hallway circling the patio that connects the rooms upstairs to each other. All the houses have wooden floors and tile roofs. An example of the most common house layout on the block, representing 31% (5/16) of the houses is illustrated in Figure 6.2.

While the layout of the houses is traditional, they are all equipped with certain modern urban services. The houses all have running water and electricity installed in the earlier decades of this century. However, because the plumbing and electricity were added many years after the original construction of the buildings, the wires and pipes are attached to the walls (Plates 4.2 and 7.1). None have any kind of heating system, for although the nights can be fairly cold in Quito, it is not the custom to heat buildings

Figure 6.2: Layout of a Colonial House



Adapted from : Ortiz, 1979, p.34

Table 6.2: Physical Characteristics of the Houses

House Number	Facade Architectual Style	Number Patios	Windows Across	Door Position	Number Floors
1	Modern	1	3	C	2/3
2	Eclectic	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	2
3	Neoclassical	2	5	C	2
4	Neoclassical	2	5/7	C	2
5	Eclectic	n.a.	4	R	2
6	Neorenaissance	2	6	L	2/3
7	Eclectic	1	2	R	2
8	Neoclassical	2	5/7	C	3
9	Neorenaissance	2	5	C	2/3
10	Neorenaissance	2	5	C	2
11	Neoclassical	1	4	L	3
12	Neoclassical	1	3/4	R	2
13	Neoclassical	1	6	R	2
14	Contemporary	0	n.a.	n.a.	3
15	Neoclassical	2	3	L	2
16	Neoclassical	1	3	C	2
17	Neoclassical	1	3/3	R	3
18	Eclectic	1	3	R	3

Source for architectural styles: Cepeda, et al, 1980.
Symbols:
n.a. = not applicable / = varying numbers of floors or a corner house with windows on 2 sides
Windows= number of windows across front
Door= position of door, C=centre, R=right, L=left.

in Ecuador.

6.3.2 House Owners

The basic statistics about the block house owners and their acquisition of the houses are shown in Table 6.3. The majority of the houses, 72% (13/18) were bought, rather than inherited or constructed by the present owners. Most of the traditional elite families who had lived on this block left in the 1920's and 1930's in order to avoid the increasing congestion and crowdedness of the city centre as Ecuador's economy began to expand. Most of these elite residents moved

Table 6.3: House Owner Characteristics

House	Sex	Acquired	Years	Occupation	Age	Lives
1	F	inherited	n.k.	n.k.	n.k.	north
2	F	inherited	n.k.	n.k.	n.k.	north
3	F	bought	49	retired	70	block
4	n.a.	inherited	55	foundation	n.a.	n.a.
5	n.a.	bought	2	clinic	n.a.	n.a.
6	F	bought	17	retired	71	block
7	F	n.k.	n.k.	n.k.	45	block
8	M	bought	2	businessman	50	block
9	M	bought	18	tailor vendor	60	block
10	F	bought	3	vendor	55	block
11	M	bought	13	vendor	53	block
12	F	bought	26	retired	71	block
13	M	bought	2	salesman	n.k.	centre
14	F	built it	42	retired	87	block
15	M	bought	18	teacher	45	block
16	F	bought	30	saleswoman	63	block
17	F	bought	2	n.k.	n.k.	centre
18	F	bought	9	doctor	30	block

Symbols:
n.k. = not known
Sex= sex of the owner
Years= number of years in possession
Occupation= occupation of the owner
Age= age of the owner
Lives= where the owner lives; block= in house on the block, north= in north part of Quito, centre= in the centre part of Quito.

to the comfortable, spacious new upper-class suburbs to the north. Only three of the homes or possibly four, were inherited by the present owners, and none of these inheritors uses the building as a residence for his or her family; the inner city is not considered a suitable residential area for Quito's contemporary elite.

The length of time the houses have been in the possession of the present owners (Table 6.4), shows a spread from 2 years to 55 years, with an average of 20 years. The types of owners who acquired houses at different times

Table 6.4: Dates of House Acquisition

Number of Houses	Years Ago Acquired	Dates
6	0-9	1976-85
4	10-19	1966-75
1	20-29	1956-65
1	30-39	1946-55
2	40-49	1936-45
1	50-59	1926-35

reflect the type of buying that was occurring in each period. The three houses that were acquired more than 40 years ago, between 1926 and 1945, belong to two upper class widows, and a foundation which inherited the house. This suggests that even as the exodus to the north was taking place, some elite latecomers were establishing themselves here. Between 1966 and 1975 houses were mainly bought by successful lower-circuit workers, such as Ipiales vendors. This was the decade when the country was begining to expand its links with the international capitalist market, so it was possible for a lower-circuit vendor to save some money. In addition, land prices in the historic centre were still fairly low at that time. Between 1962 and 1975, while land prices in the rest of the city rose between 200% and 800%, the land in the historic centre rose only 33% in value (Carrión, et al, 1979, p.53). The economic boom in the late 1970's associated with the production of oil caused increased land values, and increased interest in the historic centre for historic preservation and profit making possibilities. The houses acquired in these last nine years seem to have been bought for profit purposes; for commercial

and residential renovations (Houses #5, 8, 18), or for simply collecting residential rents (Houses #13, 17).

The average age of the owners is 58 years, with the youngest being 30 years old and the oldest 87 years old. As Table 6.5 illustrates, the majority, 83%, are between the ages of 40 and 79 years of age. Comparing current owner age with house acquisition dates indicates that 64% of owners bought their houses while between the ages of 40 and 55 years. This suggests that for almost everyone, time in the working world to accumulate capital is needed before a house can be purchased. The four owners (36%) who were aged 21 to 33 years when they bought their houses are in middle-class occupations: a teacher, doctor, businesswoman, and one is a wealthy woman.

A classification of owner occupations or activities as presented in Table 6.6, indicates that there are two dominant groups among the owners. One third (36%) of the owners are vendors in the Ipiales market next to the case study block. Another third (29%) are widows with an average age of 75 years of age. The five included in the "other" category are: the foundation that inherited a house and uses rent profits to fund a private school in the north of the city; a highschool teacher, a doctor, a businessman who renovates buildings for profit, and a professional medical clinic. The dominance of widows and vendors suggests a close connection between house owners and the historic centre. Instead of external landlords investing in property for

Table 6.5: House Owner Ages

Age of Owner	Number of Owners
30-39 years	1
40-49 years	2
50-59 years	3
60-69 years	2
70-79 years	3
80-89 years	1

Table 6.6: Owner Occupations

Occupation	Number	Percent	Ave. Age
Vendors/Salespeople	5	36%	55 years
Retired Women	4	29%	75 years
Other	5	36%	n.a.

purely profit motives, these owners are people who live and work in the immediate area.

A further indication of the close ties between house owners and the historic centre is that 68% (12/18) of the owners residents of the study area and two of the six that do not live on the block live within 2 kilometres of the house they own. Of the remaining owners who do not live in their houses, two live in higher-class residential areas in the north of the city, and two of the owners are institutions: the school foundation in the northern sector, and the medical clinic.

As is traditional, the majority of the owners who live on the block occupy the second floor of the house (64%, 7/11). A further 18% (2/11) live on the third floor and the remaining 18% (2/11) live in the whole house. Clearly, the upper floors are considered more comfortable and prestigious. One of the owners who does not have renters,

lives on the second floor while her servants inhabit the first floor, in the colonial tradition.

6.3.3 Use of Space

Land use in the study area shows the pattern typical of the historic centre. The front, first-floor rooms open onto the street and are rented out for commercial use, while most of the back and upper floor rooms have been rented out for residential use, or sometimes as space for workshops. Although it is the commercial activities of the block that are most obvious to the passerby in the street, this block's predominant use is residential.

The use of floor space in the houses of the block is outlined in Table 6.7. It must be noted that all these figures are only estimates, made from a combination of visual observation and map calculations; they are presented to provide a general picture of the use of space on the block. In addition, several omissions need to be clarified. Not included in these estimates is House #5 (Plate 6.2, house on the right), which is being renovated as a medical clinic, and will somewhat increase the amount of space on the block used for commercial purposes when it is completed. Also not included are parts of buildings not in use or being renovated. Part of House #8 is still in the process of being renovated for more commercial purposes. Several rooms in House #1 are being repaired and will be returned to their original residential use. And lastly, House #15 has only two

Table 6.7: Estimated Use of Occupied Floor Space

House Number	Living Units	Est. Area	Storage Units	Est. Area	Eco. Units	Est. Area	Total Area
1	3	350	0	0	1	100	450
2	12	289	0	0	1	2	291
3	1	1138	0	0	2	48	1186
4	10	606	0	0	2	61	667
6	9	443	3	48	1	12	503
7	3	280	0	0	1	12	292
8	1	160	0	0	10	278	438
9	5	194	7	112	5	166	472
10	5	273	8	128	3	57	458
11	5	489	6	127	4	164	780
12	7	262	1	16	3	50	328
13	4	316	0	0	2	35	351
14	1	863	0	0	0	0	863
15	2	68	0	0	0	0	68
16	2	86	4	64	3	53	203
17	9	448	0	0	6	184	632
18	3	249	0	0	0	0	249
TOTAL	82	6514	29	495	44	1222	8231

(excludes space not being used or under construction)
Living Units = number of residences
Area = estimated area in square metres
Storage = number of storage rooms
Eco. = number of commercial units

(See Table 7.12 for average area per residence and inhabitant.)

living units in it at present, while the rest of the house is being renovated. Although Table 6.7 clearly demonstrates the dominance of the residential use of space on the case study block, the 15% use for commercial purposes and the 5% for storage of goods for sale, represent a significant 20% of the total floor space. The amount of space used for commercial purposes could be as much as 30% of the total when all the space being renovated or under construction is completed.

At first glance the uses of space found in a 1979 study of the block (Cepeda, et al, 1980, p.212), and the findings of the present study (Table 6.8) do not seem significantly different. However, the increasing amount of renovation for commercial purposes needs to be taken into account, as should the fact that the block population is presently less than half of what is was two decades ago and is declining at an increasingly faster rate (Table 6.9). These two trends, increasing commercial use of space, and declining population, suggest that the case study block shares in the change from predominantly residential uses to a greater mixture of residential and commercial uses that is occurring throughout the historic centre (Hurtado, 1980; Hardoy and Dos Santos, 1984).

The use of space in the historic centre as warehouses for goods to be sold in the markets, shops and streets, also seems to be increasing (Hardoy and Dos Santos, 1984, p.63). Although no figure is available for the amount of space used for storage on this block in 1979 (Table 6.8), the 5% of the total block space used for this purpose in 1985 is significant. These rooms are rented by vendors from the Ipiales market as a place to store their goods at night; each morning the goods are carried by porters to the market. In seven out of twenty-nine cases, rooms are rented to vendors who are actually Tulcan residents (the Ecuadorean/Colombian border town); they bring their goods to the market several times each week, and thus use the rented

Table 6.8: Uses of Space in the Study Area in 1979 and 1984

Use of Space	Area 1979	Percent 1979	Area 1985	Percent 1985
Residential	6290 sq.m.	84%	6585 sq.m.	80%
Commercial	915 sq.m.	12%	1222 sq.m.	15%
Other	269 sq.m.	4%	n.a.	n.a.
Storage	n.a.	n.a.	384 sq.m.	5%
Total	7474 sq.m.	100%	8191 sq.m.	100%

Table 6.9: The Decline of Population in the Study Area

Year	Population	Annual Decline
1962	650	n.a.
1974	559	1.3%
1979	508	1.7%
1985	293	7.6%

Source: Cepeda, et al, 1980, p.202-203.

room not only for storage, but also as a place to stay while they are in Quito.

6.3.4 Land and Building Values

Although the historic centre as a whole is an area of high value land, there are variations within the historic centre. In the 1979 municipal tax assessments for the historic centre, the average land value was 1000 sucres per square metre, with the lowest being 300 sucres and the highest 3000 sucres per square metre (Cepeda, et al, 1980, Figure 4i). Because of its distance from the symbolic centre of the city (i.e. the main plaza), the case study block was worth 600 sucres per square metre. By 1982, tax assessments of the land value of this block had increased to 6000 sucres per square metre, but remained in a similar position compared to other land values in the historic centre (City

of Quito, Depto. de Valuos y Catastros, 1982). This ten-fold increase in three years must be viewed in the context of the four-fold decline in the value of the Ecuadorean sucre in these years. In addition, in the late 1970's and early 1980's interest in the preservation and profitability of the historic centre was growing, especially as a result of the UNESCO declaration of the historic centre as a "Patrimony of Humanity" in 1978. The present (1985) value of the land would presumably be higher as a result of the continuing decline in the value of the sucre, and the increasing commercial interest in the block.

Table 6.10 presents the residential and commercial rent totals per month for each house on the block. For several residences and shops where the rent was unknown, the amount was estimated according to the average rent per square metre in the rest of the residences or shops in the house. In two cases these estimates could not be made, so only the total of what was known is presented. The final figure is thus only an estimate of the actual rent total.

Using the 1982 tax assessed value of the land, and current (1985) exchange rates, the total block is presumably worth about $400,000 American dollars. This land generates approximately $50,000 American dollars each year, or a return of about 12.5% annually. However, separation of rents earned from commercial space and from residential space indicate that commercial rents generate much greater profits than residential rents. Residential rents yield

Table 6.10: Estimated Rent Values in 1985
(in sucres per month)

House	Residential	Commercial	Total
1	25,500	30,000	55,500
2	49,000	1,250	50,250
3	n.a.	2,500	2,500
4	44,000	7,500	51,500
5	n.a.	n.a.	0
6	27,000	n.k.	27,000
7	n.k.	3,750	3,750
8	n.a.	96,500	96,500
9	7,500	22,500	30,000
10	11,480	17,270	28,750
11	7,505	25,745	33,250
12	17,000	18,750	35,750
13	18,000	12,500	30,500
14	n.a.	n.a.	0
15	1,500	0	1,500
16	2,500	13,250	15,750
17	33,000	6,250	39,250
18	n.a.	n.a.	0
TOTAL	243,985	257,765	501,750

n.k. = not known, n.a = not applicable

approximately 37 sucres per square metre monthly, while commercial rents are about 150 sucres per square metre monthly. Clearly, house owners seeking greater profits have reason to convert space from residential to commercial uses. However, not all space is suitable for commercial uses; mainly first floor and street-front rooms are appropriate. In addition, lower-income people working in the historic centre will continue to prefer living in the centre near their work, rather than use a large portion of their income for daily transportation. Therefore, while the conversion of space from residential to commercial is likely to continue, it seems probable that there will be a mix of residential and commercial uses of space for a long time to come.

Grouping the houses according to the amount of rent they earn provides further evidence that this predominantly residential block does not earn excessive profits (Table 6.11). The lowest group includes the two single family homes, and the house which is presently only partially occupied while it is being renovated. At the top of the scale is House #8 which has been renovated for total commercial use. Although House #8 has an extremely high rent value, the remainder of the houses spread fairly evenly between 0 and 50,000 sucres rent per month.

6.3.5 Physical Condition of the Houses

In order to measure the physical condition of the houses more accurately than by just rating general impressions, several specific indices were used: need of repairs to physical structure, amount of sunlight and open space, the condition of the paint, the condition of the windows and the general appearence of the house (Table 6.12).

Approximately half of the facades of the houses (53%, 9/17) were in good condition and well-kept. About 41% of the houses (7/17) were quite worn and shabby looking because of lack of maintenance. Only one house (House #4) was in need of a specific repair on the facade, as a small part of the roof was caving in.

Inside, the houses were not in quite as good condition as outside. This likely has to do with the existence of

Table 6.12: Individual House Condition Ratings

House	EXTERNAL			INTERNAL			ADEQUATE	
	P	W	R	P	W	R	S	O
1	1	1	1	3	2	3	Y	Y
2	2	2	2	2	3	3	Y	Y
3	2	2	1	1	2	1	Y	Y
4	2	2	3	2	2	2	Y	Y
5	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
6	2	1	2	2	2	3	Y	Y
7	2	2	1	2	2	1	1/2	1/2
8	2	1	1	1	1	1	Y	Y
9	2	2	2	3	2	3	Y	N
10	2	2	1	2	1	2	Y	Y
11	1	1	2	2	2	3	Y	N
12	2	2	2	2	2	3	N	N
13	2	1	2	2	2	2	N	Y
14	1	1	1	1	1	1	Y	Y
15	1	1	1	1	1	1	Y	Y
16	2	1	1	1	1	1	Y	Y
17	2	1	2	3	2	3	Y	Y
18	1	1	1	2	2	3	N	N

Symbols in Table 6.12
Ratings:
Paint(P)
1. Good - recently painted, good condition
2. Regular - a few cracks and some peeling, dirty
3. Poor - much peeling, has not been painted for a long time
Windows(W)
1. Good condition
2. Up to 1/4 broken or missing
3. Up to 1/2 broken or missing
4. More than 1/2 broken or missing
Repairs(R)
1. Good - no repairs needed, well-kept
2. Worn - general wear and tear, shabby
3. Minor - minor repairs needed
4. Major - major repairs needed
Adequate Sunlight(S), Open Space(O)
Y = yes, N = no, 1/2 = partially.

Table 6.11: Rent Categories in the Study Area (by sucres earned per month, 1985)

Level	Rent Range	Houses
A	0 - 9,000	3,7,14,15
B	10,000 - 19,000	16
C	20,000 - 29,000	6,9,10,17
D	30,000 - 39,000	11,12,13
E	40,000 - 49,000	-
F	50,000 - 59,000	1,2,4
G	60,000 - 89,000	-
H	90,000 - 99,000	8

strict municipal regulations governing the maintenance of the building facades in the historic centre, but few checks on the interiors of buildings. Less than half (41%, 7/17) of the houses were rated in good condition internally, and without need of repairs. Three houses (18%) were classified as in worn and shabby condition while 47% (8/17) were in need of small repair jobs such as broken stairs, broken doors, leaky roofs, and missing lights. Two houses needed major repairs because construction of the clinic in Lot #5 had caused the collapse of two adjacent walls in these houses. Other than this, however, no major construction repairs were observed as being necessary.

Another aspect that was considered, was whether the buildings had adequate sunlight and open space. As discussed in the previous chapter, increasing population density and demand for housing in the historic centre, in the decades after 1930 resulted in new rooms being built into the patios and hallways. These additions often prevent the entrance of sunlight and fresh air, and make the buildings dark, stuffy, and humid inside. The problem is not as severe in the study

area as it is in other parts of the historic centre, where studies have shown that 55% to 90% of the houses have excessive humidity (Larrea, et al, 1984, p.54, p.99). Only 21% (3.5/17) of the houses on the case study block were found to lack sunlight, and 26% (4.5/17) had patios and hallways crowded with additional rooms.

The condition of the paint on the facades of the houses was fairly good, largely because of the municipal law that requires that once a year all the facades of the buildings in the historic centre be painted white with blue or brown trim. Thus 29% (5/17) were in very good condition, while the remaining 71% (12/17) were in regular condition.

The paint inside the houses was not in as good condition as outside. Although 29% (5/17) were found to be in good condition, 53% (9/17) were in regular condition, and 18% (3/17) in poor condition. Again this is a result of the lack of municipal regulations regarding building interiors.

Windows are a quantifiable measure of the condition of a house. Although 53% (9/17) of the houses had windows in good condition facing the street, a quite high percentage, 41% (7/17) had up to 1/4 of these front windows broken or missing.

As observed before, the situation was worse inside the houses. Only 35% (6/17) of the houses had all interior windows (those facing the inner courtyard) in good condition. The majority, 59% (10/17) had up to 1/4 of the interior windows broken or missing, and 6% (1/17) had almost

half of the windows broken or missing.

In order to compare the overall general condition of the houses, point ratings for each of the factors (repairs, paint, windows, sunlight, and space) were added together (Table 6.12). Thus, the houses in the best condition would have the lower scores, with the lowest possible score being 6 points. The higher the score for a house, the worse the condition it was in. To be fair to the houses that had collapsed walls because of the construction going on behind them, they were given inside repair ratings according to the rest of the house and the collapsed walls were disregarded. Both were in fairly good condition; House #3 had an overall "good" rating, and House #4 rated "worn" overall.

The results presented in Table 6.13 show that the condition of the houses ranges from very good to poor, with a definite tendency toward below adequate. In total, 53% (9/17) houses or a little more than half are in rundown or poor condition, a third (30%, 5/17) are in good or very good condition, and the remaining fifth (18%, 3/17) are in adequate condition. This compares favourably with other ratings of house conditions in the inner city (Larrea, et al, 1984, p.139; Esparza, et al, 1980, p.23), in which 60% to 70% of houses were found to be in poor condition. The slightly greater number of houses in better condition in the study area probably reflects the remaining upper-class residents on the block who keep their houses well maintained, and the numerous houses on the block that have

Table 6.13: General House Condition Ratings

General Condition	Total Points	Which Houses	Number of Houses	Percent of Houses
A.Very Good	6-7	8,14,15,16	4	24%
B.Good	8-9	3	1	6%
C.Regular	10-11	1,7,10	3	18%
D.Worn & Rundown	12-13	4,6,11,13,17,18	6	35%
E.Poor	14-15	2,9,12	3	18%
TOTAL			17	100%

gone or are under going renovations.

6.4 Synthesis of House Types

A pattern of six basic types of houses can be identified on the block(Table 6.14). Each type is a unique mixture of various uses, owner characteristics and purposes, and house condition. While the houses within each classification type are not without variation, it was found that the houses fit into these categories quite naturally.

House Type One could be labeled the traditional, upper-class family residence. The two houses in this category are occupied by elderly widows and their servants. One woman's husband was a landowning aristocrat, and the other's a doctor. Their average age is 78.5 years old. In one case the house was bought, and in the other it was built by the family themselves. These families have lived in the houses an average of 45 years, the longest on the block. This suggests that even though the elite had begun to move to peripheral residential districts in the 1920's and 1930's, there were still upper-class families choosing to

Table 6.14A: Characteristics of Block House Types

Characteristics	Type 1	Type 2	Type 3
Description	old upper class	external landlord	prosperous vendors
Houses	#3,14	#1,2,4	#9,10,11
How Acquired	1-bought 1-built	3/5 in herited	all bought
Ave. Years Owned	45	55	11
Owner Occupation	widows	various	vendors
Owner lives in house	all yes	all no	all yes
Ave. Owner Age	78.5	n.k.	56
Residential Space	98%	86%	54.5%
Commercial Space	2%	14%	23%
Storage Space	0	0	22.5%
Area/person (m2)	176*	17	15
Residential Rent/Month	0	33,900	8,800
Commercial Rent/Month	1,250	11,500	21,800
Condition**	4+	2	2
Total Used Space (m2)	2049	2391	1710

Table 6.14B: Block House Types

Characteristic	Type Four	Type Five	Type Six
Description	lower class widows	middle class homes	business renovation
Houses	#6,7,12	#15,16,18	#5,8
How Acquired	bought	bought	bought
Ave. Years Owned	14.5	19	2
Owner Occupation	widows	professional	business
Owner lives in House	yes	yes	y/n
Ave. Owner Age	62	46	50
Residential Space	88%	80%	37%
Commercial Space	7%	8%	63%
Storage Space	5%	11%	0
Area/person (m2)	17.5	20	53
Residential Rent/Month	22,000	2,500	0
Commercial Rent/Month	11,250	14,750	96,500
Condition	2	4	5
Total Space (m2)	1123	520	430

Explanation of Table 6.14
Residential Space = average percent of space used for residential purposes
Commercial Space = average percent of space used for commercial purposes
Storage Space = average percent of space used for storage purposes
Residential Rent/Month = average monthly income from residential rent
Commercial Rent/Month = average monthly income from commercial rent
*includes servants
**Condition rated out of 5 points; 1=poor, 5=very good
***parts underconstruction not included

establish residences in the central city in the later decades. Obviously, almost all of the space in these homes is used for the private residential purposes of the owners, and for servants' quarters. One house has two small workshops facing the street that are rented out, but other than this the houses generate no rental income for the owners. These houses were rated to be in the best physical condition of any of those on the block. This type of house, the traditional upper-class, family home in the central city, is a left-over from earlier patterns, and it is likely that with the deaths of these elderly women, this type of housing will disappear from the area.

House Type Two is the stereotype of what is expected in the inner city; a wealthy property owner, living in another, more comfortable area of the city, ignoring the rundown, crowded condition of the house, and only coming to the house once a month to collect the rents. Five of the houses on the block (28%) fit this description. None of the owners of these houses were available for interviews, so little is known about them personally. Three of these five houses were inherited by the present owners, suggesting that they are upper-class owners who do not wish to live in the central city. A review of the use of space in these houses indicates that a high percentage of the space (86%) is used for residences, and a significant amount, mostly street-facing, first-floor rooms, are rented out for commercial purposes. These houses had the highest average amount of residential

generated rent, and the lowest average amount of space per resident of all the houses on the block. They were also among the houses on the block that were in the poorest physical condition. While many other houses on the block had equally poor living conditions, the distinquishing factor about House Type Two, is that the owners have little or no ties to the historic centre except for extracting as much rent from these houses as possible with the least amount of investment and involvement.

The third house type on the case study block is relatively unknown in North American inner cities; these are the houses owned by market vendors who have been quite successful in the lower circuit economy. All three of these vendors bought these houses quite recently (an average of 11 years ago). Their average age is 56 years old, which suggests that while buying a house is done when a person has established him or herself in business, it is also something which implies that the person will continue working and expanding their business activities. Except for those houses being renovated for exclusively commercial purposes (House Type Six), the houses in this category have the most amount of space (23%) devoted to commercial activites on the block. They are also the only ones to have a significant amount of space used for storage (22.5%); likely a result of their activities as market vendors. Aside from the exclusively commercial buildings, this house type has the least amount of residential space (54.5%) of all the houses on the block.

Most of this residential space is occupied by the owners and their extended families. This explains the small amount of rent generated by residential uses and the large amount from commercial rents. Living conditions in these houses are similar to Type Two houses, with about 17 square metres per resident and a worn and run-down rating of the building. While the owners in House Type Three category are clearly in a privileged position within the lower-circuit economy, they remain very much a part of the lower circuit and a part of the activities and life-style of the inner city.

House Type Four consists of houses owned by lower-class widows who live exclusively off the rents generated by renting out the majority of their houses. Like the vendor house owners, these women are privileged members of the lower circuit because they own property, but they remain tightly connected to the lower circuit of the economy and the lower classes of society. These women have an average age of 62 years, and bought the houses, usually together with their husbands, an average of 15 years ago. The security of income these women have in a country which provides little security for the elderly is unusual in the lower-classes. Eighty-eight percent of the space in these houses is used for residential purposes and 12% for commercial uses, generating a significant amount of income. The living conditions are similar to those found in the houses in categories Two and Three, with about 17 square metres per person and worn, rundown physical conditions. As

part of the lower-circuit economy, there is very little investment into the maintenance and renovation of these houses after the initial purchase, but the houses provide security for these aging widows, as well as residences and commercial locations for other members of the lower-circuit economy.

House Type Five includes three middle-class owners (16%) who have renovated buildings to provide themselves with respectable housing as well as generate a little income. In some ways, this could be equated to the gentrification process taking place in many North American inner cities. These owners include a doctor, a highschool teacher, and a businesswoman, with an average age of 46 years, the youngest average age of owners on the block. The majority (80%) of the space is used for residential purposes, although one house is still being renovated and will likely contain space for several small shops facing the street. The income generated by these houses is very little. One of these owners noted that it is pointless to up-grade the rental suites so much that higher rents must be charged, because the majority of the people who want to live in this area cannot pay very high rents. Yet, the houses are in good, well-maintained condition, and the owners have among the most amount of living space per person (28 sq. metres) on the block, while their renters have areas slightly higher than other renters on the block. However, unlike North American gentrification, the movement of "middle-class"

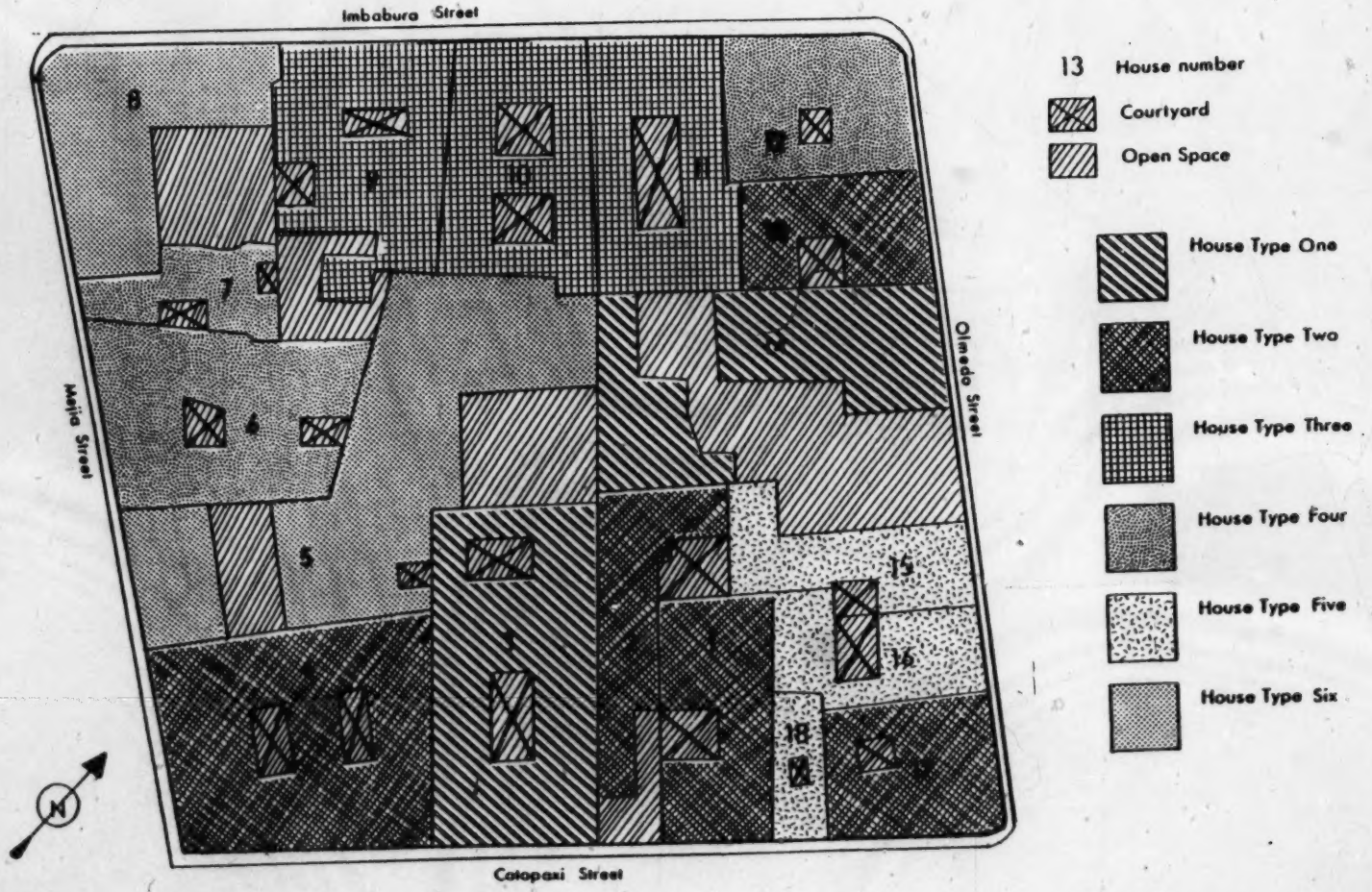
people into the inner city in Latin America is likely an indication of the declining position of the middle class, and their increasing inability to pay for the housing of the upper circuit. The middle class is not very different from the lower classes; although most of them work in upper circuit professional occupations, their incomes are generally low, and so they purchase most of their consumer goods in the lower circuit, and in some cases, like these three on the sample block, they are looking for cheaper housing alternatives.

House Type Six is one common in North American inner cities. As the CBD expands, former residential buildings are converted for commercial uses in order to obtain greater profits from land with rising value. Only two buildings on the case study block (11%) fit this description. One is being converted into a private medical clinic, and the other for use by slightly larger-scale businesses. Both buildings were bought by the present owners approximately two years ago, so this is a new trend on the block. Little is known about the future clinic and its owners, except that it is a very modern one, with the latest technological medical equipment and specialized staff; clearly an upper-circuit facility which appears out of keeping with the other medical services available on the block and in the area. The other building, advantageously located on the corner of the block facing the Ipiales market, is being renovated by a 50 year old businessman for use by larger-scale businesses. The rent

generated by this building is by far the most of any building on the block, and it is not even finished yet. The businessman has also built a spacious, comfortable residence for his family on the third floor of the building.

Two more significant aspects of these block House Types need to be discussed: the locational aspect and the chronological dimension. The distribution of House Types on the block is shown in Figure 6.3. The houses seem to be concentrated according to type. Mejia and Imbabura streets are the most commercially active streets of those passing the block, and the corner where these two streets come together faces the Ipiales market. It is logical therefore, that the vendor owners (Type Three) have their houses on Imbabura for easy transport of goods to and from the market, and to enable prosperous commercial activities to take place in the houses themselves. The house that is being renovated for exclusively commercial purposes (House #8) is exactly on this corner facing the market. And the clinic (House #5), the other house in the sixth category, is also on one of the important commercial and traffic streets. The traditional, upper-class homes (Type One), the middle-class renovated residences (Type Five), and the external landlords (Type Two) are all on the more residential oriented streets, Olmedo and Cotopaxi. The homes of the lower-class widows (Type Four) seem to be on the fringe of the commercial areas, taking advantage of rent generating locations favourable for commercial and residential uses.

Figure 6.3: Location of Block House Types



Chronologically, is seems probable that some of these housing types are declining in the inner city, while others are increasing. Clearly, the number of traditional, upper-class residences (Type One) in the inner city is declining. The renovation of houses by middle-class people for residential or commercial purposes (Types Five and Six) seems to be on the increase. However, as long as the inner city continues in its functions as a centre of the lower circuit, it is likely that external landlords (Type Two), market vendors (Type Three) and lower-class widows (Type Four) will continue to be prevalant in the inner city.

6.5 Summary

The case study block is in the midst of the inner city of Quito, and the kinds of features that are dominant throughout the inner city are also evident in the vicinity of the block. Most notable are the Ipiales market, an outdoor, lower-circuit market located opposite the block, and the church complex which covers the entire block to the south of the case study block. The inner city's role as a transportation link is also apparent around the block; both intra-urban and inter-urban buses stop near the block. The abundance of schools, and lack of health facilities and parks in the historic centre as a whole, is also characteristic of the area immediately surrounding the block.

The physical structures on the case study block have their roots in the Spanish colonial period. The layout of the block, the division of the land into lots, the subsequent sub-division of the lots, and the design of the block buildings all stem from this influence. Today the block is totally covered with 18 buildings, that, except for one Twentieth Century design, are all built in the traditional pattern. The buildings have been adapted for use today by installing services such as electricity and water facilities.

The people who own the houses on the block come from a variety of backgrounds and occupations which reflect the time when they bought the houses and the various interests and trends in land use in the inner city.

The buildings are predominantly used for residential purposes; these formerly single-family dwellings have been sub-divided and are now rented out in small units. But because the block is near the central core of the city, land values are high, and commercial rents are much higher than residential rents. Consequently, buildings are increasingly being renovated for commercial use.

The condition of the buildings on the block ranges from poor to good depending on what they are used for. Generally, buildings that have been renovated have been renovated for commercial use, and buildings that are owned by upper-class residents are in better condition. Buildings owned by external landlords or lower-class people are usually in

poorer condition.

Using all the information gathered about the houses on the block, six basic types of houses were identified which represent the different uses of buildings in the inner city. Some of these types of uses are declining and others are increasing. The basic types include: 1)upper-class, traditional, single-family homes, 2)external landlords interested in profit and little investment, 3)prosperous vendors from the Ipiales market, 4)lower-class widows who live off renting out most of the house, 5)"middle-class" renovated residences, and 6)buildings converted for commercial purposes.

These house types illustrate the functions of the inner-city zone within the larger urban system. Its former function as a residential zone for the upper classes is disappearing. Today it is a zone of the lower classes. Space is used for lower-class housing and economic activities. The property is either owned by external landlords or people in higher positions within the lower-circuit economy. There also seems to be a movement towards renovating some of this deteriorating housing stock for "middle-class" residences and for more profitable commercial uses.

In other words, this zone was originally one of high status within the city as the residential zone of the elite. Over the past four or five decades it has been declining in status. As the elite moved their centre of power and their residences to the northern sector of the city, the inner

city became a zone of lower-class activities. Today there is some renewed interest in the zone for possible profit purposes by prosperous lower-circuit businesses and and on the part of the dominant classes in the form of historical and cultural preservation and possibly upper-circuit commercial development.

7. Residents of the Case Study Block

7.1 Introduction

There are 293 people living on the case study block. In order to better understand their position in urban society, the information gathered about them will be discussed using three main catagories: (1)the general characteristics of the resident population, such as age and sex distributions, household composition, activities, origins, and education; (2)resident consumption of basic economic goods, such as housing, food, and clothing; and (3)resident input of labour into the urban economy.

7.2 Characteristics of Residents

7.2.1 General Population Characteristics

The block population data confirms other studies of the inner city indicating that the population of this area is slightly older and has a higher proportion of women than Quito as a whole (Larrea, et al, 1984; Castello, et al, 1980).

Of the 293 people who live on the case study block, 150 are female, 130 are male, and the sex of 13 of the residents is unknown. While in Ecuador as a whole, the male-female population ratio is 99 men for every 100 women, in the urban area of Quito, there are only 91 men for every 100 women (Plan Quito, 1984, p.131). The case study block has an even

greater difference between the proportion of males and females than the city, with 86.6 men for every 100 women. The higher proportion of women in urban areas is generally explained as an outcome of more women than men migrating to the cities from rural areas because there are more job opportunities for women in the city, such as office, administration, and domestic work, than in rural areas (Plan Quito, 1984, p.131). The even higher proportion of women in the study area is likely a result of the concentration of jobs for women in the central city, particularly office and retail work.

Although the age spread of the block is wide (Table 7.1), from newborn to 87 years old, the majority (65.6%) of the block's population is under the age of 30 years. However, in contrast to the total urban population, the block has fewer people under the age of 20 years old, and more people between the ages of 20 and 49 years. While the city as a whole has only 38% of its population between 20 and 49 years old, a full 50% of the block residents are in this age range. The reversal is true for the 0 to 19 year age group, where only 38% of the block residents are 19 years of age and under, and 51% of the total city population is in this age group.

Of the half of the block residents between the ages of 20 and 49 years over 50% are under 29 years old, and the overall block average age is 25.3 years. These figures seem to indicate that the block is the frequent residential

Table 7.1: Block and City Age Categories

Age Group	No. of People	Percent of Block	Percent of Part	Percent of City	Percent of Part
0-9	51	18.3%		25.6%	
10-19	59	21.1%	39%	25.0%	51%
20-29	73	26.2%		19.6%	
30-39	40	14.3%		11.1%	
40-49	26	9.3%	50%	7.6%	38%
50-59	15	5.4%		n.a.	
60-69	8	2.9%		n.a.	
70-79	5	1.8%		n.a.	
80-89	2	0.7%	11%	n.a.	11%
Unknown	14				
TOTAL	293	100%	100%	100%	100%

Source for Quito data: Plan Quito, 1984, p.138.
n.a. = separate data not available

choice of young adults without large families. The block average is less than one child (.87) aged fourteen years or under per household, which is extremely low in a country where 44.6% of the population is under the age of fourteen (Teran, 1984, p.247).

In all of the 10-year age groups, except for two, there are approximately equal numbers of males and females. The exceptions are the over 60 year age group, which is 87% female, and the 20 to 29 year age group, which has slightly more men (53%) than women. Mostly because of the predominance of women in the over 60-year category, the average age of female residents on the block is older than the male average age. Female residents average 27 years of age, while males average 23.8 years.

The large number of elderly women living on the block is significant. Almost 9% of the female block residents are over the age of 60 years, while only 1.6% of the male residents are over 60 years old. This is probably partially the result of the slightly longer life-expectancy for women than for men in Ecuador; 62 years for females and 59.5 years for males (United Nations, 1983, p.158). Consequently, there are thirteen elderly women in the study area, with an average age of 70 years. Only four of these thirteen women live alone (one of those living "alone" has live-in servants), and the others, (70%) live with their adult children. In a country such as Ecuador, which has few provisions for the care of the elderly, it is customary for parents to live with their grown children.

The other age group in which the proportion of women and men are not roughly equal, is the category of people between the ages of 20 and 29 years. Here the men outnumber the women; 30.5% of the men living on the block are between 20 and 29 years of age, while only 23.3% of the women residents are in this range. The reason for this seems to lie in the types of activities the people in this age group are involved in, and this will be discussed in the section on general occupation.

7.2.2 Household Composition and General Activity

There is an average of 3.4 people per household in the study area, with a low of one person to a high of 12 people

in one household. However, large households are rare, as only 4/85 (4.7%) have seven or more members. Since city-wide surveys report an average of 5.1 members per household (Moya and Peralta, 1984, p.16), the small size of the households on the case study block likely reflects the small size of the residential units, and the tendency for the block to be the residential choice of small families and young adults.

There are basically four types of households on the case study block (Table 7.2). The most common type of household is the nuclear family, a married couple with or without children. Nuclear families account for over one-third of the block households. The other three types of households are: (1)sub-nuclear, households composed of a nuclear family with on spouse absent; (2)single-person households, consisting of one or more unmarried person(s) without children; and (3)supplemented and/or extended households, those in which the nuclear family lives with other married or unmarried relatives. These three household types each account for about one-fifth of the households on the block.

The male-headed nuclear family predominates the study area (36.5% of the households). However, as noted earlier, families tend to be small, as 57% (17/30) of these households have only one or two children. Twenty-seven percent of the nuclear households have three or four children, and 17% (5/30) have no children at all. Given the small size of the housing units on the block, it is not

Table 7.2: Block Household Types

Type	Description	No. of Households	Percent of Total
Nuclear	a married couple with or without children	30	36.5%
Sub-nuclear	nuclear with an absent spouse	18	22.0%
Single(s)	one or more unmarried singles with no children	18	22.0%
Supplemented	nuclear or sub-nuclear with one or more unmarried relatives	14	17.0%
Extended	two or more married couples with or without children	2	2.5%
Unknown		3	
TOTAL		85	100.0%

surprising that larger families do not live in the study area.

Twenty-two percent of block households are classified as sub-nuclear and the majority of these are families without a husband and/or father. Two-thirds of these (61%, 11/18) are older widows, while one-third (33%, 6/18) are middle-aged women with fairly young children.

Households of one or more single people represent about one-fifth (22%) of the block households. Half of them are post-secondary students and the other half are young working adults. The majority (83%) of these single residents come from outside of Quito. The inner city is a preferred place for these young adults to live because the rents are cheaper

than elsewhere in the city and it is located near many of the city's educational institutions and work opportunities. While these households are usually temporary, the continuous flow of migrants from rural areas means that households of single people always exist on the block.

Even though extended and supplemented families are common in Latin American society, the small size of the accommodations on the case study block deters these kinds of households from living there. The extended and supplemented households that are on the block are fairly small: slightly over one-half (56%, 9/16) have only three to five members, 37% (6/16) have six to nine members, and only one household (6%) has over ten members. Unlike rural areas where extended and supplemented families are the result of natural growth, these inner-city families are usually a consequence of rural relatives and friends migrating to the city and joining a family that was established in the city earlier (Habitat, 1982. p.75).

The occupations of the residents will be discussed in detail in a later section, at this point however, a brief outline of the general activites of block residents is needed so that the following discussions of origins, migration, and education can be related to these summary figures.

As Table 7.3 shows, 60% of the block's population are students, homemakers, or unemployed; and are thus classified as economically inactive (although many work part-time, or

Table 7.3: General Activities of Block Residents

General Activity	No. of People	Percent of Total	Percent of Employed
Economically Active		40%	
1. Vendor	42	15.0%	37.8%
2. Private Employee	17	6.0%	15.3%
3. Artisan	14	5.0%	12.6%
4. Public Employee	12	4.3%	10.8%
5. Professional	12	4.3%	10.8%
6. Business person	6	2.0%	5.4%
7. Domestic Employee	4	1.4%	3.6%
8. Driver	2	0.7%	1.8%
9. Manual Labourer	2	0.7%	1.8%
Not Economically Active		60%	
10. Fulltime Student	96	34.6%	
11. Pre-school age	29	10.4%	
12. Homemaker	37	13.2%	
13. Unemployed	4	1.4%	
Unknown	16	--	
TOTAL	293	100.0%	100.0%

assist in family businesses without payment). This is slightly lower than the 66% of the total urban population that is classified as economically inactive (Plan Quito, 1984, p.138-142).

The low level of unemployment in the study area is similar to figures in Quito as a whole and in Latin American cities in general. Quito recorded an umemployment rate of about 2% among the economically active population (Ecuador, Instituto Nacional Estadistica y Censos, 1982). Rather than high unemployment, there are high rates of underemployment; situations where people earn small amounts of money, enough for daily living in the lower circuit of the economy.

Of the block residents who are classified as economically active, 38%, the largest occupation group, are vendors either in markets or in the streets. Of the rest of the economically active residents, 10 to 15% are found in each of the following activities: artisan production, low-level public and private employment, such as caretakers, clerks, and guards, and lower level professional occupations such as teachers and accountants. This occupation distribution reflects the types of jobs available to those with little skill or little capital in the central city: mostly jobs in the service or retail distribution sectors, or in traditional artisan production. The majority of these jobs are in the low and middle levels of both economic circuits as shown previously in Table 2.2.

7.2.3 Origin and History of Present Residents

Approximately one-half of the block's residents were born in Quito, while the remainder come from the sierra, the coast or Colombia (Table 7.4). Although figures on the proportion of migrants living in the historic centre, vary greatly, most research suggests that between 40 and 50% of the population is not Quito-born, and this is supported by the findings on the case study block. Figures for the whole city, indicate that 33 to 38% of the total urban population is migrant. Thus, the case study block, and the historic centre as a whole, have a higher than average number of migrant residents, an indication of the zone's function as a

Table 7.4: Resident Birthplace

Birthplace	Number of Residents	Percent of Residents
Quito	117	48.7%
Sierra	90	37.5%
Coast	29	12.1%
Colombia	4	1.7%
Unknown	53	
TOTAL	293	100%

receptor for migrants. As in the city generally, and in the rest of the historic centre, three-quarters(73%) of the migrants come from the sierra, one-quarter (23.5%) from the coast, and a few come from Colombia. This reflects the national migration patterns described earlier; most of the migrants coming to Quito originate in the sierra, and there is little migration from the coastal regions to the highlands.

Seventy-nine percent of the migrants living in the study area came to the city within the last 14 years in the most recent wave of rural-urban migration triggered by the petroleum boom (Table 7.5). The large number of recent migrants is probably also an indication that many urban newcomers only stay in the inner city until they are established and then move to other parts of the city. Thus most of the migrants who have come to the city in the last few decades have since moved on, and only a few people from each immigration period have settled permanently in the inner city.

Table 7.5: Length of Time Immigrants have been in Quito

Years in Quito	Date Arrived	No. of Residents	Percent of Residents
0-4	1981-85	51	45.5%
5-9	1976-80	26	23.0%
10-14	1971-75	12	11.0%
15-19	1966-70	7	6.0%
20-24	1961-65	3	3.0%
25-29	1956-60	1	1.0%
30-34	1951-55	6	5.5%
35-39	1946-50	0	0%
40-44	1941-44	3	3.0%
45-49	1936-40	0	0%
50-54	1931-35	2	2.0%
55-64	1921-30	0	0%
65-69	1916-20	1	1.0%
Unknown		11	
TOTAL		123	100%

The study area figures show that migration from the sierra to Quito has been taking place for decades, while immigration from the coast or Colombia is a more recent phenomenon. Seventeen percent of the migrants from the sierra came to Quito 20 to 59 years ago, and 82.5% have come in the last 20 years. While migrants from the sierra are still the majority of those arriving to Quito, the proportion from the coast is growing, from 10% of the total migrants 10 to 19 years ago, to 32.8% of those arriving in the past 10 years. Of the coastal born people living on the block, 92.8% came within the last 20 years, 85.7% of those only in the last 10 years. These changing flows of migration are a result of changes in the national economy. Until recently the most active economic region of Ecuador was the coast, thus internal migration in the county flowed

basically from the highlands to the cities of the sierra, such as Quito, and from the highlands to the coastal region. With the petroleum boom of the last 15 years Quito has become an attraction to migrants from all over the country because it has become the administrative and corporate centre of the nation.

Regardless of the decade in which the migrants arrived in Quito, the majority (65%) migrated when they were between the ages of 15 and 34 years old. This is the age when young adults seek work and education opportunities in the larger urban centres as their region of origin has little to offer them.

More female migrants (54%) than male migrants have settled permanently on the case study block. There are several possible explanations for this. As discussed earlier, there are generally more female migrants because there are more job possibilities for women in the cities than in rural areas, and there are more jobs for women in the central city than in any other area of the city. However, on the case study block, there are equal numbers of male and female migrants from the sierra, where one would expect the largest number of job-seeking women to originate. On the other hand, coastal women out number coastal men (1:1.5), and all of the immigrants from Colombia are female. This suggests that the coastal region and Colombia both have more jobs for males in agriculture and industry than jobs for women. Quito, being an administrative centre has many

opportunities for women.

The majority of the residents (66.5%) on the block have lived there less than 5 years, and the number rapidly decreases with the years (Table 7.6). This is not necessarily an indication of the length of time current inhabitants have lived in the inner city since they may have lived in several different residences within the zone. However, the fact that 56% of all the migrants currently living in the study area are still living in the same house as when they first arrived, and all of these arrived since 1971, is concrete evidence that although the periphery squatter settlements have been drawing most of the migrants in the past two decades, there are still migrants who come directly to the inner city and settle there. The evidence also suggests that coastal migrants are more likely to settle initially in the inner city than sierra migrants because 75% of the coastal migrants were still living in the first house they rented and only 49% of the sierra migrants were. This could be because more sierra migrants than coastal migrants have relatives already established in the city with whom they can stay until they are settled, since migration from the sierra has been occurring much longer than migration from the coast.

7.2.4 Education

Table 7.6: Number of Years Residing in the Study Area

Years in the House	Date Moved In	No. of Residents	Percent of Total
0-4	1981-85	157	66.5%
5-9	1976-80	41	17.4%
10-14	1971-75	17	7.2%
15-19	1966-70	8	3.4%
20-24	1961-65	6	2.5%
25-29	1956-60	2	0.8%
30-34	1951-55	2	0.8%
35-39	1946-50	0	0%
40-44	1941-45	1	0.4%
45-49	1936-40	1	0.4%
50-59	1931-35	1	0.4%
Unknown		57	
TOTAL		293	100.0%

7.2.4.1. Current Students

As mentioned earlier, 34.6% of the residents of the case study block are full-time students. Added to this are 11 more residents, or another 3.8%, who attend educational institutions as well as working full-time.

Classification of the students into levels was difficult because of a number who were attending technical schools and institutes. These are mostly apprenticeship programs for trade skills, and secretarial and accounting programs that replace part of the secondary grade levels. In order that the classification of students would to some degree reflect the students' level of education, it was assumed that first year in a technical or trade institute would be equivalent to grade 11, the second year to grade 12, and the third year to first year university, and so on. According to this classification, the students are divided

into almost equal thirds in the primary, secondary, and post-secondary levels (Table 7.7).

The high number of block residents attending educational institutions (38%) is a clear when compared with the 26% of the total urban population of Quito that are students. The difference stems mainly from the large number of secondary and university students who live on this block. This is due to two factors: (1)the type of housing available in the study area and its location, and (2)the concentration of educational institutions in Quito.

This area of the city is appealing to secondary and post-secondary students because of its proximity to the universities and schools and also because the rents are fairly cheap and the apartments are suitable for one or two single residents.

While there are approximately the same proportion of elementary school children in the study area as in the whole city, the study area has slightly more in secondary students. Fifty-three percent of the study area's secondary students come from outside Quito. Approximately half of these non-Quito born students immigrated to the city with their families, and the other half came alone. It appears that quite a few students come to take their secondary schooling in the city, either because there is no secondary school near their original family home, or because the schools in Quito are better.

Table 7.7: Education Level of Current Students

Level	Number	Percent
Grades 1-6	37	34%
Grades 7-12	34	32%
Post Secondary	37	34%
TOTAL	108	100%

The concentration of Ecuador's post-secondary institutions in Quito is also evident. Thirty-seven percent of all the country's university students and about two-thirds of the university students in the sierra region are attending institutions in the capital city (Plan Quito, 1984, p.302). Of the post-secondary student population in the study area, 59% were born in the sierra, 38% in Quito, and three percent are coastal born. The large proportion of students from the sierra is even more significant when it is noted that only 37.5% of the total block population is sierra born. This large group of university students comes to Quito from the sierra because half of the sierra's universities (3/6) are located in Quito, and these institutions are among the largest and most well-known in the country. Furthermore, there are several areas of study at universities in Quito that are found at no other institutions in the country, such as human sciences, theology, and certain branches of engineering (Plan Quito, 1984, p.303). Very few students come to Quito from the coast because the universities in the coastal cities draw the majority of the coastal students.

The continuing dominance of men attending post-secondary education in Ecuador is illustrated by the characteristics of the university students in the study area. Seventy percent of the students are male. There are fewer women than men at a ratio of 2.6 men for every one woman attending post-secondary institutions. This coincides with national statistics which show that only 30% of all post-secondary students in Ecuador are female (United Nations, 1982, p.403). In addition, the average female university student is a few years older than the average male student. This suggests that not only is it more common for men to attend university than women, but also, that women are less prepared financially and academically, and therefore it requires more time for them to get in.

The eleven students who work full-time in addition to studying have a variety of jobs (Table 7.8). [3] For the public and private employees, and the professionals, attending post-secondary institutions is a way of moving ahead in their careers. The vendors, on the other hand, are young people who sell goods in the street as a way of paying for their education. Vending seems to be a job that anyone can pick up without requiring much capital or special skills, at any time when money is needed.

The locations of the educational institutions attended by the students of the block are distributed predictably

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[3] Women with children, and without an outside job were classified as full-time homemakers, while women without children were classified according to their occupation or as full-time students.

Table 7.8: Occupations of Students Working Full-time

Occupation	Number of Students	Total Workers on Block
Vendors	4	45
Public employees	1	11
Private employees	2	17
Professionals	2	12
Homemakers	2	37
TOTAL	11	122

according to the concentrations of schools in Quito. Eighty percent of Quito's elementary and secondary schools are located in the central and northern sectors of the city. None of the elementary or secondary students attend schools in the south of the city. The primary students almost all attend schools within the historic centre. Secondary students mostly attend schools in the centre, but a few go to schools in the north. And all the post-secondary students attend institutions in the north, where all these institutions are located.

7.2.4.2. Levels of Education Attained by Adults

There are 146 adult residents on the case study block who have completed their education. Unfortunately, the level of education attained by these adults is only known in 40% of the cases. Of those whose attained level of education is known, approximately one-third have some level of primary education (33%), another one-third (39%) have some secondary, and the remaining one-third (29%) have some level of post-secondary education. Even with the large number of university students living on the block, these figures

suggest a surprisingly well-educated population for a low-income neighbourhood. It may be that many of those who did not want to answer this question had lower levels of education. In addition, more reliable city-wide figures suggest that the proportion of inhabitants who have only elementary education is much higher. In Quito, 52.5% of the population have only completed some elementary (grades 1-6) education, 33% have some secondary (grades 7-12) education, and only 13.5% have some university education (Gomez, 1980, p.76).

Comparing education attained with occupation reveals some relationships between these to variables. All the professionals have some university-level education, and all the craftspeople have only a elementary level of education (although they probably have other types of training such as apprenticeships). The education levels of the homemakers, and the public and private employees, shows a wide spread from primary to post-secondary. For the public and private employees their level of education is an indication of job skill level, while some work as caretakers, others are administrators and managers. The vendors also show a wide range of education levels from primary to post-secondary. This suggests again that selling in the street is a job for anyone at anytime when money is needed.

7.3 Resident Consumption

Consumption, both private and collective, is one of the key elements of the urban economy (Castells, 1980, p.62). Who gets what and why are important questions for understanding an urban dweller's position in the socio-economic structure (Johnston, et al, 1981, p.370). This section will look at private consumption of basic living necessities: housing, food, and clothing, by the residents of the study area.

7.3.1 Housing

7.3.1.1. Tenancy and Reasons for Living in the Study Area

The spread of house ownership among the urban poor of Latin American cities with the appearence of spontaneous squatter settlements since the 1940's has reduced the importance of rented accommodation (Edwards, 1982, p.129). However, renting remains the dominant form of tenancy in the inner city (Larrea, et al, 1984, p.55), and in the study area. Three-quarters of the households (78%) on the block rent accommodation, another 18% of the households are house owners, and the remaining 5% are servants' households.

While in general Latin Americans prefer house ownership (Edwards, 1982, p.132), there are several reasons why the rental accommodation of the central city continues to be popular. The only real possibility for low-income families to own a house is in the peripheral squatter settlements

because the land and houses in the central city are too expensive, and the houses of upper-circuit construction that dominate most of the rest of the city are totally out of the financial reach of low-income families. However, for some people the disadvantages of living on the periphery of the city outweigh the desire to own a house. Transportation from the squatter settlements is poor, many do not have urban services such as electricity and sewage, and they are quite far from the places of work and schools of the central city. While some people settle permanently in the inner city, for others it provides a convenient home until they have established themselves in terms of an education or a job, and then can think about the possibilities of home ownership.

Certainly the motives given by block residents support the idea that residents see definite advantages to living in the central city even if it is rented housing. The reasons vary greatly (Table 7.9), however closer analysis suggests that the key underlying reason for most residents (77%) is the area's centrality to urban activities and services. This includes general centrality (16.5%), nearness to work (31.5%), nearness to schools (2.5%), and various combinations of those reasons (26%). The remaining 23% had housing related reasons: the scarcity of cheap housing elsewhere in the city (4%), the low rents (1.5%), or the house belongs to a relative, friend, or the person him/herself (18%). These responses support results of

Plate 7.1 (Above):
Interior patio
of House #6.

Plate 7.2 (Right):
Interior patio
of House #1.

previous surveys in the inner city that suggest that centrality, and cheap, available housing are the main reasons people choose to live in this area.

The majority of renters on the block (75%) pay between 1000 and 5000 sucres rent per month (Table 7.10). This is slightly higher than rents indicated by previous surveys of the inner city. One study in 1979 showed 56% of the households had monthly rents over 2000 sucres (Larrea, et al, 1984, p.55), while today on the case study block, 81% pay over 2000 sucre per month. The increase can primarily be attributed to the declining value of the sucre and the increasing land values in the historic centre. These rents represent up to one-half of an official minimum salary. This is greater than the one-quarter of a minimum salary indicated by previous surveys of rents in the inner city (See chapter 5). This difference suggests that the standard of living of inner-city inhabitants is declining and that it is increasingly necessary that more than one family member have paid work.

7.3.1.2. Spatial Charactistics of Study Area Housing

As mentioned earlier, the block population has been declining at an increasing rate for the last two decades. A comparison of household size and density on the block in 1979, with data gathered in 1985 (Table 7.11) indicates decline by all measures of residential use. The changing land uses from residential to commercial on the block is the main cause for the declining population. However, even

Table 7.9: Reasons for Living in the Study Area

Reason	Number	Percent
Near Work	23	31.5%
House belongs to self or relative	13	18.0%
Centrality	12	16.5%
Near Work & Centrality	10	14.0%
Scarcity of Housing	3	4.0%
Near Work & Schools	3	4.0%
Other	9	12.0%
Unknown	12	
TOTAL	85	100.0%

Table 7.10: Monthly Rents of Households in the Study Area

Rent (sucres)	Number of Households	Percent of Households	Percent of Renters
owner/servant	15	19.5%	
less than 1000	1	1.5%	
1001-2000	10	1.5%	
2001-3000	12	15.5%	
3001-4000	13	17.0%	
4001-5000	10	13.0%	75.0%
5001-6000	2	2.5%	
6001-7000	6	8.0%	
7001-8000	3	4.0%	18.0%
8001-9000	0	0%	
9001-10000	2	2.5%	
10,001 and over	1	1.5%	5.0%
Anticrisis	2	2.5%	
Unknown	8		
TOTAL	85	100.0%	100.0%

Table 7.11: Block Housing Characteristics in 1979 and 1985

Measure	1979	1985
Total Population	559	293
Number of Houses	23	18
No. of Living Units	143	85
Density per hectare	699	366
Living units per House	6.2	4.7
People per Living Unit	3.9	3.4

Source for 1979 data: Convenio, 1979.

though the total resident population has declined by 52.5% in the past 6 years, the number of people living in each residential unit has declined by only 8.5%. An indication that residences are not getting larger.

The overall average space for each of the 293 residents of the block is 22 square metres. If Houses #3 and #14 (the two houses occupied by upper-class widows) are excluded from the calculation, the average drops to 15 square metres per person. The average is even less when owners and their families are removed; renters on the block have an average of 9.5 square metres per person. However, the amount of space per resident varies greatly between the individual houses, as shown in Table 7.12. The averages range from a low of 6 square metres per person to a high of 204 square metres for a single owner, and a high of 32 square metres in rented accommodations. The majority of the houses (47%) and the majority of residents (43%) fall in the range of 10 to 19 square metres per person, with a few lower and a few higher (Table 7.13).

Table 7.14 compares persons per room in residences on the case study block and in the city as a whole. The study area has a much higher percentage of residents (20%) living in residences with less than one person per room than in the total urban area, where only 3% of the population live in this type of residence. There is also a greater proportion of the total urban inhabitants (17%) living in residences with four or more people per room, than on the case study

block (8%). This is surprising since it is usually thought that the inner-city zone has high population densities. However, this figure for the case study block seems to reflect the small size of the residences and households in the study area. Both the city-wide figures and those of the study area indicate that the majority of population live in residences with one to three inhabitants per room. As can be expected, the renters in the study area live in more crowded conditions than the owners of the houses.

7.3.1.3. Facilities

The availability and condition of several types of facilities associated with housing will be discussed in this section. These include: the existence of windows in rooms, water availability and service, toilet facilities, types of kitchens, and laundry facilities.

One measure of living conditions is whether or not the rooms have windows; without windows, the rooms are usually dark, stuffy and humid. Although statistics are not available for all of the houses, the number of rooms used for living purposes which do not have windows are shown in Table 7.15.

The houses spread across the whole range, from very few rooms without windows to many rooms without as shown in Table 7.16. House #3 is a special case, for although most of the rooms do not have windows, it is built in the traditional style described earlier, which allows for light and air to enter through large doors opening onto the patio

Table 7.12: Living Space per Block Resident (sq.m./person)

House Number	Residents in House	Area per Residence	Area per person-all residents	Area per person-renters
1	11	350	32.0	32.0
2	49	24	6.0	6.0
3	9	379	148.0	16.0
4	32	61	19.0	n.a.
6	31	49	14.0	12.0
7	12	93	23.0	n.k.
8	3	160	53.0	n.a.
9	17	39	11.5	7.5
10	21	55	14.5	10.0
11	22	45	20.5	12.0
12	17	37	14.5	7.5
13	15	79	21.0	21.0
14	4	215	204.0	16.0
15	5	34	13.5	8.0
16	10	43	14.0	5.0
17	35	50	7.0	7.0
18	9	83	27.5	n.a.
Average	18	105	22.0	9.5

n.a. = not applicable (no renters) n.k. = not known
Note: In Houses #3 and #14, the servants are classified as renters.

Table 7.13: Houses Grouped by Space per Person

Area per Person(sq.m.)	Houses	Percent of Residents	Percent of Houses
1-9	#2,17	28%	12%
10-19	#4,6,9,10,12,15,16	43%	47%
20-29	#7,11,13,18	20%	23%
30-39	#1	4%	6%
40-49	0	0%	0%
50-59	#8	1%	6%
over 100	#3,14	4%	12%
Total		100%	100%

Table 7.14: People per Room in Quito and the Study Area

People per Room	Percent in Quito	Percent on Block	Block Renters
Less than one	3%	20%	11%
One person	43%	28%	33%
Two-Three	37%	43%	47%
Four or more	17%	8%	9%

Source for Quito Data: Plan Quito, 1984, p.196.

Table 7.15: Residential Rooms Lacking Windows

House Number	Rooms Without Windows	Total Rooms Known	Percent Rooms Without
1	4	11	37%
2	14	18	78%
3	25	28	90%
4	5	33	15%
6	7	22	32%
8	0	3	0%
9	2	6	33%
11	3	4	75%
12	4	7	57%
13	10	14	71%
14	0	20	0%
15	1	8	12%
16	1	5	20%
17	8	10	80%
18	6	15	40%

Table 7.16: Houses Grouped by Percent of Rooms Without Windows

Percent of Rms. Without Windows	House Numbers	Number of Houses	Percent of Houses
0-19%	#4,8,14,15	4	27%
20-39%	#1,6,9,16	4	27%
40-59%	#12,18	2	13%
60-79%	#2,11,13	3	20%
80-99%	#3,17	2	13%
TOTAL		15	100%

from all the rooms. While most of the houses on the block were originally built in this style, additions often block the entrance of light and air.

All residential rooms are equipped with electricity from the municipal network. Municipal statistics confirm the wide spread availability of electricity, reporting that 97% of rented residences in houses are supplied with this service (Moya and Peralta, 1984, p.16). Assurance of

electricity is one of the advantages low-income, inner-city housing has over peripheral low-income settlements which must often wait many years to be connected to the electrical network.

Although all the houses have running water and are connected to the municipal sewage system, there are problems of insufficient facilities for the number of residents, and scarcity of water, which is a city-wide problem.

Seventy percent of the households do not have running water within the residence, and the inhabitants share a single faucet with the rest of the inhabitants of the house. Of the 30% of the households that have private water faucets, 45% are house owners. These figures coincide with city-wide statistics which report that in 1977, 83% of rented residences in houses did not have running water (Moya and Peralta, 1984, p.16).

The block houses usually have one communal water faucet in each patio. Thus the average is about 10 people using one faucet, with a range from as low as four people to as high as 17 people per faucet.

Quito is situated in a high altitude valley where rapid precipitation run-off makes water storage difficult and creates continual shortages. The general inadequacy of the water system in Quito and the resulting scarcity of water cause even greater problems in the historic centre than in the rest of the city, because the facilities there are so heavily used. During certain periods each day there is

little or no water available. Often the women sit in the patio chatting, while their pails are slowly filled by the trickle of water from the faucet.

Bathrooms (meaning toilets, but rarely showers) are about the same as water faucets per person; 70% use communal bathrooms, and of the 20% with private bathrooms, 45% of these are owners. The number of bathrooms per person varies greatly among the houses, and also between the overall average, and the average for renters only (Table 7.17).

Renters, of course, share bathrooms with a greater number of people than owners do. Communal bathrooms are common in the inner city where most accommodation is rented. Studies show that 78 to 91% of inner-city households share facilities (Larrea, et al, 1984, p.99; Farrell, et al, 1980, Table #4). In fact, the majority of rented rooms (78%) throughout the city also have communal bathrooms, while only 34.5% of the total number of households in the city use shared bathrooms (Plan Quito, 1984, p.193).

Kitchens are another facility not necessarily included in every housing unit. There are basically three kitchen possibilities: 1)a separate room for the kitchen, but not necessarily with running water, 2)a cooking area in a corner of the residence, usually consisting of a table or cupboard and a gas-cooking burner, or 3)not having a kitchen. Fifty-seven percent of households have a separate room for a kitchen. Again, this proportion is similar to those found in other studies of the inner city (Farrell, et al, 1980, Table

Table 7.17: People per Toilet Facility

House Number	Total Residents per Toilet	Renters per Toilet
1	3.6	3.6
2	16.3	16.3
3	n.k.	n.k.
4	4.6	4.6
6	10.3	13.5
8	1.0	n.a.
9	4.3	5.3
10	5.3	4.3
11	4.4	2.6
12	9.0	16.0
13	5.0	5.0
14	n.k.	n.k.
15	1.3	n.a.
16	3.3	4.5
17	n.k.	n.k.
18	3.0	n.a.
AVERAGE	5.6	7.2

Note: In Houses #3 and #14, the servants are classified as renters.

#4), but lower than in the city as a whole, where 82% of all households have separate kitchens (Plan Quito, 1984, p.194).

As indicated in Table 7.18, all the house owners have private, separate rooms for their kitchens, while only 50% of the renters do. Of the remainder of the renters, 60% have a corner of their residence that they use as a kitchen, and the other 40% having no cooking facilities, eat in restaurants. Neighbourhood restaurants often have arrangements by which a person can come every day for lunch and supper for a set monthly rate.

Laundry facilities consist of a stone or cement water tank and scrubbing surface located in the patio of the house, and clothes lines for hanging wet laundry to dry

Table 7.18: Residential Kitchens in the Study Area

Type of Kitchen	No. of Residences	Percent	Rented Residences	Percent
Separate Room	42	57.5%	31	50.0%
Within living rooms	19	26.0%	19	30.5%
No kitchen	12	16.5%	12	19.5%
Totals	73	100.0%	62	100.0%

either in the patio or on a terrace. Almost all residents (91.5%) use shared laundry facilities of this type; among renters, 96% share these facilties. Use of these facilities is intensive: there is an average of 21 people per facility, with a low of 9 people using one facility, to a high of 49 people.

7.3.2 Consumer Goods

While housing is likely the largest item of consumption for the block residents, food and clothing are also necessities, and analysis of where they purchase these goods shows significant features about the position of the residents in the urban economy.

Most of the households on the case study block purchase the majority of their food in the markets and/or the local neighbourhood shops (Table 7.19). A minority (13%) purchase all or some of their food in large supermarkets. As mentioned earlier, 20% of the households on the block do not have a kitchen or cooking area, and approximately 10% of the households reported that the only food they bought was prepared meals in restaurants.

Table 7.19: Location of Household Food Purchases

Place of Purchase	Number	Percent
Markets in the Historic Centre	26	41.0%
Markets and Neighbourhood Stores	12	19.0%
Neighbourhood Stores	11	17.5%
Restaurant	6	9.5%
Markets and Supermarkets	5	8.0%
Supermarkets	3	5.0%
Unknown	22	
TOTAL	85	100.0%

Table 7.20: Location of Household Clothing Purchases

Place of Purchase	Number	Percent
Ipiales Market	32	52.5%
Ipiales and Neighbourhood Stores	14	23.0%
Wherever they like	9	15.0%
Neighbourhood Stores	4	6.5%
Other	2	3.0%
Unknown	24	
TOTAL	85	100.0%

Most of the clothing purchased by block households (82%) also comes from markets (essentially the Ipiales market) and/or local neighbourhood shops (Table 7.20). Fifteen percent said they purchase clothing wherever they see something they like. Included in the "other" category is one person who said that she buys clothing for her household in the northern retail district of the city, and one woman who brings clothes from Colombia to sell in the Ipiales market, and so she gets clothes for her family in Colombia as well.

It is clear that block residents purchase the majority of their basic consumer needs at lower-circuit distribution sources: the markets and the neighbourhood shops. Yet it is

important to note that the goods sold in these outlets are largely upper-circuit goods, such as manufactured clothing and processed, packaged foods. Even the fresh produce sold in the markets is increasingly being produced by large-scale capitalist farms, and not by peasants (Roberts, 1978, p.113; Blakemore and Smith, 1971, p.288-289). Thus a growing proportion of the low-income urban family's budget is spent on goods directly or indirectly from the upper circuit. A study in Lima indicated that in low-income families 75% of the expenditures were for upper-circuit goods and services (Roberts, 1978, p.113). The study area seems to reflect a similarly large proportion of household expenditures on upper-circuit goods, even though the goods are distributed through the lower-circuit retail network.

7.4 Resident Labour

7.4.1 Occupations

The occupation distribution of the residents of the block was outlined earlier in this chapter (Table 7.3). About 60% of the residents have no regular job outside the home, and are classified as economically inactive; this includes full-time students, preschool-age children, homemakers, and unemployed people. Of the 40% that have regular jobs, the majority (38%) are vendors, while between 10 and 15% of the remainder fall into each of the following groups: craftspeople, public employees, private employees,

and professionals. The remaining 12.5% are manual labourers, businesspeople, domestic employees, and transport drivers.

As shown in Table 7.21, these proportions are similar to occupation distributions for the city as a whole. However, one category, vendors and shopkeepers, is dramatically different. As was noted in the discussion of land use and the block setting, the study area is dominated by lower-circuit exchange. Of the economically active block residents, 42% work as vendors or shopkeepers, while in the city as a whole, only 12% of workers are employed in the retail sector of the economy.

The majority of the economically active residents of the case study block are between the ages of 25 and 50 years, with the average age in each of the occupations between 35 and 40 years old. This applies particularly to people working as manual labourers, businesspeople, drivers, public and private employees, and professionals. The remaining four occupation categories show a slightly different pattern. Craftspeople are generally older, with the youngest being 38 years old, and the oldest 77 years. The average age of the craftspeople is 48.5 years old, suggesting that the number of young people entering these occupations is declining. Domestic employees, on the other hand are considerably younger, with an age range from 18 to 40 years, and an average of 29 years of age.[4] Vending, once again, is the occupation for anyone, at any age; the range

[4] Domestic employees will be discussed in more detail in the following chapter.

Table 7.21: Block, Centre and City Occupation Distributions

Occupation	Block Residents	City Residents
Vendors and Shopkeepers	42%	12%
Craftspeople and Labourers	14%	17%
Professionals	10%	16%
Administration and Services	30%	44%
Unemployed	3%	3%
Other	0	8%
TOTAL	100%	100%

Sources of Quito Data: Ecuador, Instituto Nacional de Estadística y Censos, 1982.

is from 16 years to 63 years old, with an average of 34 years old. Homemakers also have a wide range in ages: from 17 to 87 years old, with an average of 40 years of age. No one on the case study block was classified as retired; there were no people who were living on pensions from former employment. All of the elderly men and some of the elderly women are still working and classified by occupation, and the remaining women earned income by renting out parts of their houses or they live with their families and are classified as homemakers. Thus the wide range in age of homemakers on the block reflects the inclusion of all elderly non-working women.

Some of the occupations of the block residents are clearly gender related, while others are done by both sexes. As is traditional, all of the domestic employees and homemakers are female, and all of the manual labourers and

drivers are male. Craftspeople, public employees, private employees, and professionals are mostly male, at a ratio of about 2.5 males to every one female, indicating that women are still a relatively small proportion of many sectors of the work force. There are, however, more females in business and vending than males. Almost 60% of the vendors and 67% of the business people are women. The sale and exchange of food and other necessities in Latin America has always been done predominantly by women in markets (Burns, 1979, p.141, p.220), thus perhaps it has been a natural progression for women to move into more formal business activities as the economy has developed.

7.4.2 Occupation and Origin

Birthplace seems to be a significant factor in economic activity and occupation. A total of 70% of those born in Quito are not economically active; they are classified as full-time students, pre-schoolers, or homemakers. Of those born in the sierra, 49% are in the non-economically-active category, and of the coastal born people only 38% are in this category. The difference is essentially due to the large number (96%) of pre-schoolers born in Quito, indicating that perhaps people rarely migrate to the city with young children; either they come when their children are older, or before they have children.

In terms of specific occupations, the majority of the professionals (83%) are Quito-born, likely because of the

educational opportunities available in Quito but not elsewhere in the country. On the other hand, because of their lack of education and their origins in a more traditional society, the people born in the sierra dominate the traditional occupations such as the artisan production (62.5%), vending (42.5%), and small business (80%), and are the majority among the unskilled private employees (58.8%). Coastal-born people are not the majority in any one occupation, however the majority of them (78.5%) work as vendors.

This supports the earlier suggestion that vending is a job that anyone can do, and therefore many of the migrants take this up as their means of livelihood. As well, many of the sierra and coastal born people have contacts at their places of origin through which they bring goods for sale in the city. For example, approximately one-third of the vendors come from Tulcan, the Ecuadorean city on the border with Colombia, and bring Colombian manufactured goods to Quito to sell. A coastal man living on the block has contacts on the coast from whom he buys fresh seafood for his restaurant. A shoemaker from Riobamba in the central sierra, has contacts in his hometown through whom he can get cheaper leather. In other words, many of the supply links for lower-circuit business are through the personal contacts of migrants with their place of origin.

7.4.3 Income of Block Residents

As mentioned earlier, the majority (60%) of the residents have no regular income, this includes homemakers, students, pre-school children, and unemployed people. Of those with incomes, 62% are self-employed, 37% receive a monthly salary, and less than 1% receive daily wages. The block has many more self-employed people than the city as a whole, which counts 23.5% of its economically active population as self-employed. In comparison to the 37% of the block residents receiving monthly salaries, the city-wide figure is 76.5% on monthly salaries.

The high percentage of self-employed block residents is mainly due to the large number of self-employed vendors living on the block. Other occupations in which people are self-employed include: craftspeople, businesspeople, some drivers, and some professionals (ie: accountants who have their own offices). People on monthly salaries are in occupations such as manual labour, public, private, and domestic employment, and most professional positions.

Income levels are difficult to determine since few of the people surveyed wanted to indicate to the interviewer the amount they earned. Some estimates can be made on the basis of government minimum salary regulations (Table 7.22). Given the occupations of the block residents it seems likely that most of the salaried workers receive approximately the official minimum wage. The minimum monthly wage was raised in March, 1985 from 6,600 to 8,500 sucres, however according

Table 7.22: Some Ecuadorean Minimum Wages (1985) (sucres)

Occupation	Minimum Salary
General Minimum	8,500
Private Employee in Retail	8,700-9500
Domestic Employee	5,400
Teachers	8,500
Drivers	10,030

Source: Interview, Depto. de Salarios Minimos, Ministerio de Trabajo, Quito, July 11, 1985.

to a study by the Univerisdad Central de Ecuador, the minimum salary is not enough to sustain a family of four at the current market prices (Cambio, 1981).

It is more difficult to estimate the incomes of the people who are self-employed. However, estimates in the final chapter based on businesses and street workers on the block suggest that incomes do not go much higher than the official minimum wage.

7.4.4 Job Location

The locations of the residents' jobs in the city reflect both the economic organization of the city and the types of workers who live in the inner city. The majority (74.7%) of the economically-active block residents work in the historic centre. Of the remainder, 74% work in the northern section of the city, and 26% work in the southern section of the city. The historic centre is the place of work for all the craftspeople, the business people, the vendors, and the domestic employees who live on the block. Of those people working in the historic centre, most of the craftspeople (78.5%), and the business people (83%), and all

of the domestic employees work on the same block as their residence is located (ie: the case study block).

People with jobs that are located in all parts of the city include: manual labourers, public and private employees, and professionals. Twenty-five percent of these jobs are in the historic centre, twenty-two percent in the southern sector, and fifty-three percent are in the northern sector of the city. Of those that work in the southern section, the majority (57%) are public employees. Those working in the northern sector are 65% public and private employees, and 30% professionals.

This distribution of jobs in the city illustrates that the workers from the inner city are mostly in low-income tertiary positions in the retail and service sectors, or in artisan production, and that this type of work is overwhelmingly located in the historic centre. Very few block residents (7/117) work in the southern sector of the city because there are few job opportunities there except in industry and in a few local government offices. The industrial workers mostly live in the immediate area, so the few workers coming from the central city are mainly public employees. Because most of the upper-circuit retail, service, and administration activities are located in the northern sector of the city, mainly in the central business district, there are many employment possibilities for the types of low-level tertiary and professional workers that live in the inner city, and so there is a sizable flow of

workers (18.5%) from the study area to the northern sector of the city.

7.5 Summary of Block Residents

The study area has a core population of stable, long-time residents, and a more transient population of temporary students and workers, and new migrants. Approximately half of the residents of the study area are Quito natives, and half are migrants, which indicates that the inner city continues to be an entry point for migrants coming to the city, even though periphery squatter settlements have taken over much of this role in the past two decades. Quito is the final destination of most of the migration from the sierra, and thus 73% of the migrant residents of the study area originate in the sierra. Most (79%) of the migrants have come in the wave of rural-urban migration since the expansion of the oil industry in the early 1970's.

The case study block houses 293 people. This population consists of proportionately more adults and elderly people, and less children than the total urban population. It also has a slightly higher proportion of females than the city as a whole. The households in the study area have an average size of 3.4 members while the urban average is 5.1 members. Most (80%) of the households consist of small nuclear or sub-nuclear families, or single adults. The predominance of adults, elderly people, females, and small households is a

reflection of the small size of the residences in the area, the type of jobs that are available there, and the continuing function of the inner city as an migrant receptor.

Approximately 60% of the study area residents are not economically active; a figure comparable to city-wide statistics. This group consists mainly of homemakers and students. There is a large number of single students living on the block which account for 34.6% of the resident population. This is due to the flow of secondary and post-secondary students from the surrounding regions to the educational institutions in the city. The study area and the inner city as a whole are a favoured residential location for these students because the housing is relatively cheap and near the major schools and universities.

The economically-active residents of the study area are mainly employed in low-income tertiary jobs, such as vending and services, and in artisan production. These jobs are part of lower-circuit production and distribution, or are low-level, unskilled, upper-circuit jobs such as janitors, salesclerks, and manual labourers. There are a small number of professionals in what would be considered middle-class occupations in North America such as teaching and accounting, however, in Ecuador many of these professionals barely receive salaries equal to the offical minimum wage.

The majority (62%) of the economically active people in the study area are self-employed. This is due to the large

number of vendors living on the block (38% of the total economically-active population), and others involved in small lower-circuit businesses. Monthly incomes generally fall around the offical government minimum wage, however this minimum wage is below what is needed by a family of four. The majority (75%) work in the historic centre, and many work within the same block or building as their home. This reflects both the low-income worker's need to live near their place of work, and the pre-industrial nature of many of the lower-circuit activities in that the home and the place of work are the same. Those that work outside the historic centre are mostly in low-level upper-circuit positions, the majority of which (74%) are located in the northern sector of the city, in the new central business district which is the focus of the upper-circuit economy.

The housing in the study area is low quality, small, and often crowded. However, its advantages are that it is fairly cheap in comparison to housing elsewhere in the city (except for squatter settlements which cost nothing), urban services such as electricity, water, and public transportation are available (these are often not available in squatter settlements), and most importantly, it is located in the central city near many employment and education opportunities.

Goods consumed by the study area residents are mainly bought at lower-circuit sources such as the markets and small neighbourhood stores, however, the goods include both

lower-circuit products such as peasant-grown vegetables and artisanal clothing, as well as an increasing amount of upper-circuit manufactured products such as canned and processed foods and factory-made clothing.

8. The Economic Function of the Block

8.1 Introduction

Economic activities on the case study block include two broad categories: those that occupy space inside the buildings on the block, and those that occupy space in the doorways and on the sidewalks of the block (Figure 8.1). To distinquish these two kinds of economic activities, those located in space inside the buildings will be called 'regular' businesses, and those occurring in the hallways and doorways, and on the sidewalks will be called 'street' activities.

The analysis of all these economic activities will begin with a discussion of the regular businesses, followed by a review of the street activities, and will be brought to a conclusion with a synthesis of the function of this block in the larger urban economic system.

8.2 Regular Businesses

The regular businesses occupy approximately 1,200 square metres of floor space on the block, about 15% of the usable space. First the general characteristics of these businesses, their ownership, operation, and clientele, will be discussed. Then the businesses will be analyzed according to the seven types that exist on the block (Table 8.1).

While the first five categories of businesses (the craftspeople, the large and small scale stores, the

Figure 8.1: Location of Economic Actives

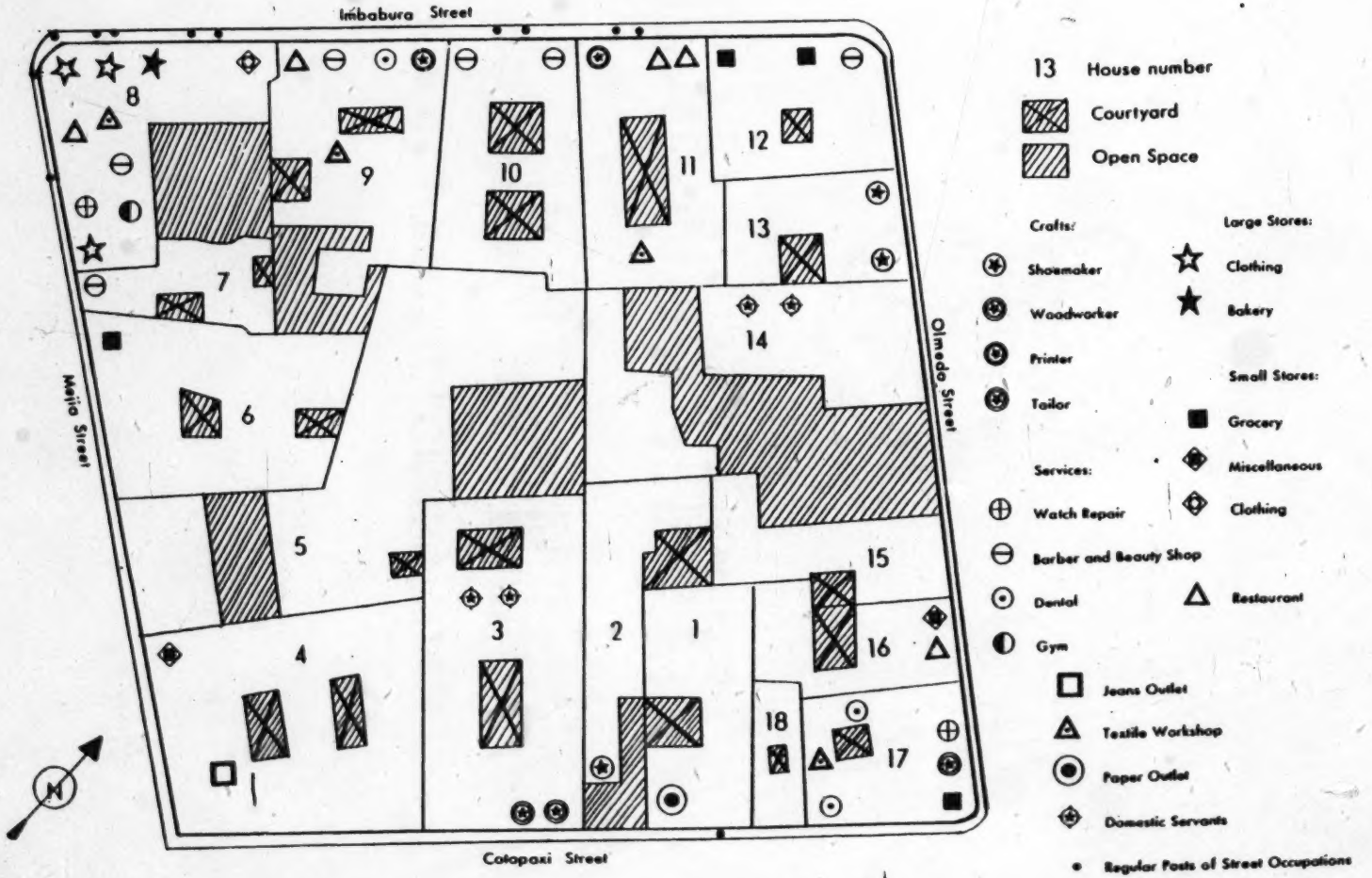

Table 8.1: Regular Block Businesses

Category	Businesses	Number	TOTALS
Craft - Production			8
	Shoemakers	3	
	Woodworkers & Upholstry	2	
	Printing	2	
	Tailors	1	
Large-scale Stores			4
	Clothing	3	
	Bakery	1	
Small-scale Stores			7
	Groceries & Liquor	4	
	Miscellaneous	2	
	Clothing	1	
Services			12
	Watch Repairs	2	
	Barber & Beauty Shops	6	
	Dental & Medical Offices	3	
	Gymnasium	1	
Restaurants			5
	Restaurants	3	
	Juice and Snacks	2	
Wholesale Outlets			2
	Paper Store	1	
	Jeans Distributor	1	
Textile Workshops			4
TOTAL			42

services, and the restuarants), can be discussed as groups, the businesses in the last three categories will have to be dealt with individually. Complete information could be gathered for only two of the four textile workshops since two of the operators were reluctant to be interviewed because their operations were not registered with the authorities. In addition, the two wholesale outlets are so different from one another that their data cannot be combined into group averages without producing a distorted picture so they will be discussed separately.

8.2.1 General Characteristics

8.2.1.1. Business Owners

The average length of time that the businesses' owners have been operating on this block is 7.6 years. This is not long considering the length of time that this neighbourhood has carried on a commercial function. Eckstein (1975) in a study of businesses in the central area of Mexico City also found businesses to have a relatively short "life-span" (an average of 5 years in operation), and suggests that "the brevity of ownership partly reflects the fact that the businesses are highly unstable offering no economic security ...However the high turnover rate of store ownership seems to stem mainly from extensive competition within the small-scale commercial segment of the economy"(Eckstein, 1975, p.135).

This also seems true of the study area. While it does not require large amounts of capital or skills to establish a business, and most businesses can attract customers from within the surrounding community, the market and profit margins are small. The competition for local customers is great. For example, there are 6 barber and hairdressing shops on the block with less than 300 residents, and there are shops like these on almost every block in the inner city.

It is also important to note that the average of 7.6 years reflects a wide range of business "lifespans". While many businesses have been on the block for a long time (some more than 30 years), the appearance in the last year or two of new larger-scale commercial enterprises effects the average.

The majority (67.5%, 27/40) of the business owners are men, while the remaining 32.5% (13/40) are women. As will be discussed later, men and women are in distinctly different types of business activities, divided according to traditional male and female occupations, and according to the scale and profitability of the operation (the larger-scale, more profitable enterprises tend to be male owned).

The birthplaces of the owners of businesses on the block (Table 8.2) clearly illustrate the internal migration pattern of Ecuador. People from the sierra migrate to the large cities of the sierra (i.e. Quito), and while there is

Table 8.2: Business Owners Birthplaces

Birthplace	Number of Owners	Percentage
Sierra	21	55.2%
Quito	15	39.5%
Coast	2	5.3%
TOTAL	38	100.0%

quite a lot of migration from the sierra to the cities of the coast, these is practically none from the coast to the sierra cities like Quito.

The average length of time that owners have been in Quito is 27 years. However, 40% (15/38) of the owners have lived in Quito all of their lives. Of those born outside of Quito, the average length of residence in Quito is 20 years, still a fairly long period.

Of those who migrated from the sierra to Quito, the length of time they have been in the city is presented in Table 8.3. From this spread of years the flow of migrants from the sierra to Quito is evident.

The majority of the owners (72%) live in the centre of the city, within a radius of approximately two kilometres of the block. This suggests a close connection between the historic centre and the businesses located there; there are few external owners operating in the centre (See Table 8.4). As will be seen later, the smaller neighbourhood operations are owned by people living in the neighbourhood itself, and as the operations get larger, fewer owners live in the centre near the block.

Table 8.3: Length of Time in Quito of Sierra Migrants

Dates Immigrated	Years in Quito	Number of Owners	Percent
1976-1985	1-9 years	7	33%
1966-1975	10-19 years	6	29%
1956-1965	20-29 years	0	0%
1946-1955	30-39 years	4	19%
1836-1945	40-49 years	1	5%
1926-1935	50-59 years	3	14%
TOTAL		21	100%

Table 8.4: Residence Location of Business Owners

Residence	Number of Owners	Percent
Centre - same bldg.	12	32%
Centre - same block	1	3%
Centre - other	14	37%
South	2	5%
North	9	24%
TOTAL	38	100%

The variety of answers which owners gave to the question of why they had chose to set up their business on this particular block are presented in Table 8.5. The reasons given by the majority (68%) of the owners related to the central place function of the inner city in the lower circuit, such as the many customers in the area, buying an already established business, or locating in the urban sector for a particular type of businesses. A personal connection to the inner city area was evident in the reasons given by 23.5% of the owners: the business operator or a relative owned the building in which the business is located, or the operator lives near by. Locating a business on the block because the rent is cheap, an answer given by 7.5% of the owners, relates to the fact that businesses in

Table 8.5: Main Reasons for Locating Businesses on the Block

Main Reason	Number	Percent
A. many customers in this area	16	42.0%
B. bought existing business	8	21.0%
C. relative or self owns bldg.	5	13.0%
D. lives near by	4	10.5%
E. the rent is cheap	3	7.5%
F. this is the sector for this type of business	2	5.0%
TOTAL	38	100.0%

this zone are small-scale, lower-circuit enterprises that cannot afford the rents in the upper-circuit business sectors.

8.2.1.2. General Business Characteristics

The total floor space occupied by businesses on this block is approximately 1,200 square metres, or 15% of the occupied space. The estimated average size of the individual businesses ranges from 2 square metres to 100 square metres. Excluding the paper outlet, which occupies 100 square metres, and is an extreme exception on the block, the average size of businesses is 26 square metres.

Rents paid by businesses on the block range from nothing in buildings owned by the operator or a relative, to 30,000 sucres per month (Table 8.6). As analysis of the business types will show later in this chapter, the higher rents are paid by the larger-scale operations that are oriented to the city-wide market, while lower rent businesses tend to be locally oriented neighbourhood shops.

Even though the businesses on the block are essentially lower-circuit enterprises, the majority obtain their stock,

Table 8.6: Monthly Rents paid by Block Businesses

Monthly Rent (Surces)	Number of Businesses	Percent of Businesses
1 - 2,500	6	17%
2,501 - 5,000	11	32%
5,001 - 7,500	7	21%
7,501 - 10,000	3	9%
10,000 -	7	21%
TOTAL	34	100%

supplies, and equipment from sources in the upper circuit, such as factories, wholesale businesses, and importers (Table 8.7). Thus it seems that even lower-circuit businesses are dependent on upper-circuit products. Examples of this are clothing and grocery stores selling manufactured goods, barber and beauty shops using factory-made hair-care products, and watch-repair shops and dentists' offices using upper-circuit equipment. A minority (35%) use lower-circuit suppliers such as the local or wholesale markets, mainly as a source for fresh food produce.

Almost all (97%) of the lower-circuit sources are located in the historic centre of the city, while the majority of upper-circuit sources (72%) are located outside the historic centre in other parts of Quito, elsewhere in Ecuador, or outside the country (Table 8.8). This further identifies the historic centre with lower-circuit economic functions, while upper-circuit functions are mainly located elsewhere in the city or country.

The 38 businesses on the block employ only 38 people besides the owners themselves; an average of one employee per business (Table 8.9). Almost half of the businesses

Table 8.7: Supply Source of Block Businesses

Supply Source	Number of Businesses	Percent of Businesses
Factories	12.5	33%
Wholesale Outlets	9.0	24%
Local Markets	8.0	21%
Wholesale Markets	5.5	14%
Importers	3.0	8%
TOTAL	38.0	100%

Table 8.8: Supply Sources by Location

Source and Location	Number	Percent
Markets in the Centre	11	29%
Factories outside the Centre	7	18%
Wholesale outside the Centre	5	13%
Factories in the Centre	5	13%
Wholesale elsewhere in Ecuador	3	8%
Imported	3	8%
Markets outside the Centre	2	5%
Wholesale outlets in Centre	2	5%
TOTAL	38	100%

Table 8.9: Block Business Employees

Number of Employees	Number of Businesses	Percent of Businesses
0 workers	18	47%
1 worker	9	24%
2 workers	7	18%
3 workers	3	8%
4 workers	0	0%
5 workers	0	0%
6 workers	1	3%
TOTAL	38	100%

(47%) are owner operated with no employees, while the other half (50%) have one to three employees each. The only exception to this is the wholesale paper outlet with 6 employees.

As noted earlier, the work of family members in lower-circuit businesses is very important. Small-scale

businesses operate with very small profit margins and therefore non-paid family labour keeps operating costs down so that some profit can be made. In at least one-quarter of th businesses on the block unpaid family members are vital to the operation of the business.

The majority of the paid employees come from the centre of the city, as is clear from Table 8.10. Thus a total of 53% of the employees live in the centre, an area of about 2 square kilometres, and approximately equal numbers of the remainder live in the north of the city and in the south of the city. As discussion later in this chapter will show, the people that come from further away tend to work for the larger-scale businesses, and the majority of those that live within the historic centre work for the smaller-scale businesses.

Information about sales per month is probably the least accurate of all the data gathered because owners were reluctant to give this information and often did not reveal exact figures, and also because many businesses of this scale do not keep accurate records of their financial transactions. At best, the figures presented in Table 8.11 can give a general picture of sales on the block. This clearly divides the businesses into two groups: those which are larger volume operations and those which are small neighbourhood stores and services.

Table 8.10: Employee Residence Locations

Location	Number of Employees	Percent of Employees
Centre - same bldg.	1	3%
Centre - same block	1	3%
Centre - other	18	47%
South	8	21%
North	7	18%
Unknown	3	8%
TOTAL	38	100%

Table 8.11: Monthly Sales of Block Businesses

Monthly Sales (Sucres)	Number of Businesses	Percent of Businesses
less than 10,000	4	13%
10,001 - 30,000	12	39%
30,001 - 50,000	5	16%
50,001 - 70,000	3	10%
70,001 - 90,000	0	0%
90,001 - 100,000	1	3%
over 100,001	6	19%
TOTAL	31	100%

8.2.1.3. Customers

The number of customers who patronize block businesses varies according to the day of the week, the time of day, and the kind of business it is.

Although the sample was too small to separate the data according to the day of the week accurately, all of the owners mentioned that Saturday was busier than the weekdays. The data supports this idea. On Tuesday and Thursday there was an average of 10 customers per hour at peak periods. However, "peak periods" consisted of only about four hours each day, and the remainder of the day there were very few customers. On the other hand, on Saturday there was an

average of 13 customers per hour throughout the day. This is attributed to the "feria" (special market) held on Saturdays at the Ipiales market which attracts a great quantity of customers to the neighbourhood. One clothing store owner near the Ipiales market also mentioned Tuesdays as having more customers than the other days of the week because of a small mid-week "feria" held on this day.

There is also a distribution pattern of customers throughout the day. There were so few customers between 9 a.m. and 11 a.m. in the mornings that it was not possible to get a proper sample in that period. Between 11 a.m. and 1 p.m. seems to be the busiest time of day. Almost all shops close from 1 p.m. until 3 p.m. for the traditional Latin American lunch and siesta. In the afternoon the busiest period was from 4 p.m. until 6 p.m.

The block businesses definitely serve a lower-middle and working class clientele, as their occupations indicate (Table 8.12). This fits well with the hypothesis that the case study block is part of the centre of the lower-circuit economy in the city. As such, it serves customers from both the lower and middle classes. The middle class purchases goods in both circuits; prestige consumption goods such as houses, and cars are bought in the upper circuit, "however, for other consumer products (eg: current consumption [goods] such as food) the middle class tend to use the lower circuit and the neighbourhood personal credit facilities, thereby making available purchasing power for the purchase of goods

TABLE 8.12: Customer Occupations

Occupation	Customers	Percent
Employees (Public, Private, Domestic)	38	26%
Vendors & Salespeople	36	25%
Students	20	14%
Homemakers	15	10%
Professionals	12	8%
Porters	6	4%
Drivers	5	3%
Craftspeople	4	3%
Unemployed	4	3%
Military Personel	4	3%
Manual Labourers	2	1%
TOTAL	146	100%

normally reserved for the upper circuit" (Santos, 1984, p.25).

The reasons customers gave for coming to the particular business in which they were interviewed seem diverse (Table 8.13), yet closer analysis reveals that location near home or work seems to be the common reason (Table 3.14 and 3.15). Location near home or work combine to make 39% of the total reasons given for doing business in the stores on the block. Of the remaining 61% who gave other reasons, 60% (53/88) either live or work in the centre of the city. Those living in both centre categories combine to amount to 47% of the total. Of the people who come from the south, north, and outside of Quito, 85% go to the larger stores, restaurants or paper outlet; very few come from far away to patronize the artisan workshops or service businesses on the block.

Fifty-eight percent of the customers work in the historic centre, and they patronize all of the businesses on

Table 8.13: Reasons for Patronizing Block Businesses

Reason for Coming	Customers	Percent
Located near work	32	22%
Located near home	25	17%
Passing-by	28	19%
Quality of Goods & Services	26	18%
Regular Customer	24	17%
Low Prices	10	7%
TOTAL	145	100%

Table 8.14: Location of Customer Residences

Location	Customers	Percent
Centre - within 5 blocks	52	32%
Centre - outside 5 blocks	25	15%
South	28	17%
North	26	16%
Outside of Quito	13	8%
TOTAL	144	100%

Table 3.15: Location of Customer's Work

Location	Customers	Percent
Centre - within 5 blocks	52	37%
Centre - outside 5 blocks	29	21%
North	31	22%
Outside Quito	16	12%
South	12	9%
TOTAL	140	100%

Table 3.16: Customer Transportation to the Block

Method	Customers	Percentage
By foot	98	64%
By bus	38	25%
By private car	16	11%
TOTAL	150	100%

the block. Of the customers who do not work in the centre of the city, the majority (85%) come to the stores, restaurants, and the paper outlet on the block, while the artisan workshops and service businesses receive few customers from outside the centre.

The means of transportation which customers use to come to do businesses on the block (Table 8.16) reinforces the evidence that the customers are mostly local because the majority come by foot. There is little use of private vehicles, which supports the hypothesis that the customers are mostly lower and working class people. Of those that came in private vehicles, 44% came to restaurants (these include drivers and military personel as well as others), and 31% were customers at the paper outlet coming to pick up large orders.

8.2.2 Regular Businesses by Types

In this section the businesses will be studied by type so that the distinct character of the different types of businesses on the block can be identified. Table 8.17A and Table 8.17B compare some of the average characteristics of the businesses by their category.

8.2.2.1. Production Activities

The eight production activities located on the case study block (not including the textile workshops) are those traditionally found in every neighbourhood: shoemakers, tailors, woodworkers, and printers. They have been in

Table 8.17A: Characteristics of Businesses by Category

Characteristic	Crafts	Services	Restaurants
Number	8	10	5
Years	15.6	6.8	1.4
Size m2	29	25	29
Rent/m2	190	260	210
Supplier	various	various	markets
Sales/mon.	2	1	4
Number of Employees	1.1	0.4	1.2
Number of Customers	2.1	2.8	10.7
Male Owners	100%	75%	50%
Live in H.C.	70%	80%	40%
Reason	various	many clients	various

Table 8.17B: Business Characteristics by Category

Characteristic	Small Stores	Large Stores	Paper Outlet
Number	7	4	1
Years	5	1	15
Size m2	20	26	29
Rent m2	225	450	300
Supplier	various	factories	imports
Sales/Mon	3	5	6
Number of Employees	0.4	1.7	6
Number of Customers	9	9*	15
Male Owners	29%	50%	100%
Live in H.C.	100%	50%	0
Reason	bought	many clients	sector

Explanation Table 8.17A & B:
All figures are averages for categories.
Years = average number of years in operation
Size m2 = average area in square metres
Rent m2 = average rent per square metre
All monitary figures are in Ecuadorean sucres.
Sales/Mon. = average sales per month
1 = 10,001-20,000
2 = 20,001-30,000
3 = 30,001-40,000
4 = 40,001-50,000
5 = 100,001+
6 = 200,001+
Number of Customers = Ave. number per hour at peak periods.
Male Owners = percent of owners who are male
Live in H.C. = percent of owners who live in the historic centre.

operation on the block longer than any of the other establishments. They average 16 years of operation, with the longest being the tailor who has worked there for 34 years and a shoemaker for 28 year, and four others ranging between 15 to 20 years operating on this site.

All of the businesses are owner-operated. In 62.5% (5/8) of these businesses the owners work with assistants, which can possibly be attributed to the apprenticeship of young workers to the trades. At the same time it seems that all are paid employees. It is also interesting to note that 2 out of the 3 shoemakers do not have assistents, which suggests that this trade is becoming less necessary with the modern abundance of cheap manufactured shoes. Almost all of the artisans live in the same building as that in which their shops are located, and their employees all live in the historic centre as well. All of these artisans are male, as is traditional.

Methods of production are also traditional, using only the elementary tools of their trades. Their supplies come from a variety of sources according to their needs, such as markets, wholesale outlets, and factories, located all over the city. The average size of the workshops is 29 square metres, which is the largest of the businesses on the block (excluding the paper outlet). Yet their average rent is 2500 to 4000 sucres per month, which is the least amount paid by businesses on the block. This may be due to the small profit margins of these businesses which do not permit large sums

spent on space rental, yet the need for ample space for production activities. Thus the artisan shops are located in spaces which are not favourable to retail trade, and which thus do not command high rents.

The average sales of these businesses are among the lowest on the block, somewhere between 10,000 and 20,000 sucres per month. These production activities serve an overwhelmingly local and personal clientele: 50% of the customers interviewed lived or worked near the shop, and another 25% patronized the workshop because they were friends of the owner. Only 25% mentioned the quality of goods or services as the main reason for visiting the particular shop in which they were interviewed. However, the average number of customers per day at the production workshops is very small; the smallest average number of customers per day of all the businesses on the block. While the shoemakers and printers have several customers per day, the upholstry worker reported only one or two per month. The tailor said that 15 years ago he needed 8 assistents to keep up with all his requests, but now he only has about one customer a week.

Clearly the production activities of the block are part of the lower-circuit economy, a sector which has been severely effected by the entrance of cheap manufactured goods from the upper circuit. The tailor, the woodworker, and the upholsterer are all losing business because of these manufactured goods. The shoemaker and the printers still

have business among the neighbourhood residents. The shoemaker, rather than making new shoes, is now mostly repairing manufactured ones, while the printer does small local orders, such as wedding and baptism announcements and sales flyers. To compete with cheap, mass-produced, manufactured goods, artisans must keep their prices low. Since the rising prices of raw materials (often sold by upper-circuit factories) are beyond their control, artisans kept their prices low by increasing the number of hours they work and by lowering their profits.

A similar process that undermined independent artisans took place during the Nineteenth Century in advanced capitalist countries with the "transition from petty commodity production to full industrialization" (Walker, 1978, p.181). While the effects of industrialization on artisan production are similar in all parts of the world, the continued co-existence of the two types of production is unique to Third World economies. Industrialization of the Third World is only partial and artisan production has adapted itself to fill the gaps in production. These artisan activities are characterized by small amounts of capital, a small volume of goods, marginal profits and serve essentially the lower-income people who live in the immediate area.

8.2.2.2. Services

The twelve service businesses on the block include two watch-repair shops, six barber and hairdressing shops, two

dental and one medical offices, and an exercise gymnasium. The personal relations with customers, characteristic of the lower circuit, are a dominant feature of these businesses. Again, they are traditional businesses found in most neighbourhoods, serving a small local clientele, and based on personal relationships between the operator and the customers. Eighty-two percent of the customers surveyed said they had come to the particular service business on the case study block because they were a friend or a regular customer of the owner. Barber and hairdressing shops are especially patronized by local residents; 55% live on the same block, and 90% said they were regular customers. Dentists and doctors also seem to have personal ties with their patients, even when the patient moves to another part of the city. In several cases, patients continue to return to the same dentist even 15 years after they have moved away. However, the total number of customers that come to the service businesses on the block is very few, under three per hour at peak times. Only the artisans on the block have fewer customers than the service businesses.

The services are the businesses which have been the second longest in operation on the block, with an average of seven years of operation by the present owners. The longest in operation is the dentist who has been there for 32 years. This distorts the average figure slightly, and without him, the average length of operation is lower and possibly more representative, at 3.8 years. Seventy-five percent of the

owners are men, and the only three female owners have hairdressing salons. Eighty percent of these owners live in the centre of the city, and many within the same building as their shops. Most are owner operated, with an average of only 0.5 employees per business.

The average shop size is among the smallest on the block, but rents are 5,000 to 7,500 per month, which is in the middle range of commercial rents on the block. The service businesses get their supplies from factories and wholesale outlets throughout the city, and use the simple tools of their trades: the dentists and doctor have minimal, older equipment, the salons, watch-repair shops, and the gymnasium also have unsophisticated equipment. Sales per month are the lowest of all the businesses on the block, between 10,000 and 30,000 sucres monthly. Given the high rents and the cost of supplies, the operators of the service businesses probably make around the official minimum monthly salary.

The service businesses thus provide basically for local needs, similar to the service businesses of the upper circuit, yet without the modern equipment, nor the high prices of the upper circuit.

8.2.2.3. Retail Distribution

The dominant economic activity of the block is retail distribution, and this is where the closest links between the upper and the lower circuits of the economy exist. The stores on the block, like the Ipiales market, are involved

in the lower-circuit distribution of upper-circuit manufactured goods, and lower-circuit consumption goods, such as food produce. The stores range from those with small inventories, little capital, and marginal profits, to those with larger inventories, captial, and profits. The larger-scale stores often sell to other vendors from other parts of the city, while the smaller-scale stores serve mostly local private customers. However, all the stores are part of the lower-circuit distribution and exchange system. To provide a clearer picture of the characteristics of these shops, they will be discussed as two separate groups.

The larger-scale stores include three clothing stores and a bakery. They have among the smallest average size of space occupied by businesses on the block (26 sq. metres), yet pay the highest rents, (over 10,000 sucres per month). All of the stores have paid employees working along with the owners, at an average of about two employees per store. Both the clothing stores and the bakery get their supplies from factores outside the city centre.

The clothing stores seem to have two types of customers. Slightly more than one-third (36%) of their customers are vendors from elsewhere in the city; thus the block stores act as intermediaries in the lower-circuit distribution network. The other two-thirds of the customers are private shoppers, and over two-thirds of these come from the southern sector of the city or the city centre. These are the shops which draw customers from the furthest parts

of the city. An indication that these customers come from further away is that two-thirds arrive by bus, while at most other businesses on the block, the vast majority come by foot. These shops are part of the central focus of the lower-circuit economy in Quito, and therefore they do a fairly brisk business, with an average of nine customers per hour at peak periods of the day.

The bakery, on the other hand, serves a totally local clientele. Using only one small oven, it produces all the baked goods for the residents of the surrounding blocks, and has an average of 30 customers every hour. (Latin Americans customarily buy fresh bread every day.) Slightly over half of the bakery's customers lived on the case study block itself, and 65% said they came to the bakery because it was close to their home or work. In fact, 93% were clients who walked to the bakery or were walking past when they went in.

Although neither the clothing store owners, nor the bakery owner gave specific figures, they each sell more than 100,000 sucres worth of goods per month; by far the largest value of monthly sales on the block. As Eckstein (1975) found in central Mexico City, "the most lucrative local enterprises are owned by people who do not reside in the areas; people who began their local businesses with a comparative economic advantage over the residents"(p.126). The "comparative economic advantage" of the block's larger-scale store owners is evident. Two of these four owners live in the northern sector of the city, the better

residential areas of Quito. One returned from living and working in New York for several years, and the fourth owner has a successful booth in the Ipiales market and so was able to open his own permanent store. Thus all of these owners seem to have an economic edge over the average local residents, either in terms of capital or experience. Shops of this kind are relatively new on the block however, as all of these have only been open about a year. Thus it seems that larger-scale stores are a relatively new phenonmenon in the central city, and possibly represent a new trend in the type of businesses being established in the area.

Eckstein suggests (1975, p.126) that these types of businesses are not usually very beneficial to the local community. The profits are taken out of the neighbourhood, and seldom reinvested in the area. In addition, employees are not usually hired from the local area. Of the larger-scale stores on the case-study block, four of the seven employees come from the northern sector of the city; this is the most non-resident workers employed by any of the stores on the block.

However, even though the larger-scale retail stores are in a more favourable profit-making position than the rest of the block businesses, they still appear to be part of the lower circuit of the urban economy. These businesses either sell to other vendors in other parts of the city or to lower-income customers from the southern working-class districts or from the historic centre itself. Their volume

of inventory and sales remain small in comparison to upper-circuit retail outlets, and the operational and financial organization remains simple.

The seven smaller-scale shops on the block are quite different from the larger-scale stores in their history, method of operation and clientele. Like the artisans and service professions, these are businesses traditionally located in every neighbourhood, such as corner grocery stores, miscellaneous stores selling small personal and household items, and a liquor store. Although the average length of operation on the block is only five years, they seem to have a long history on the block because four out of the seven owners said that they had bought the shop from a previous owner. For example, the owner of a miscellaneous store purchased it from a previous owner less than a year ago, a neighbourhood grocery store was acquired six years ago, a liquor store was purchased three years ago, and a grocery store which has been operated by the present owner for 21 years was initially purchased. Thus it is likely that these stores have longer traditions in the nieghbourhood than the first figure suggests.

While only half of the larger-scale store owners are women, the smaller-scale stores are 71% (5/7) owned and operated by women. Of the two businesses in this category owned by men, one is the liquor store (a traditional domain of men), and the other is a neighbourhood grocery store which serves as a storage place and extra outlet for the

owner's larger main store a few blocks away. Ownership of small neighbourhood shops seems to be a convienent means of earning an income for women, either as an addition to the general family income, or for a woman supporting herself. It is independent work, with flexible hours, and family and business tasks can often be combined, such as caring for children or cooking meals. Family members usually share the responsibilities of the shop without receiving direct wages. While only two of the seven shops have paid employees, all have other family members working in them who do not receive wages, but indirectly benefit from the successful operation of the family business. All of the owners live on the case study block itself, usually in the same building as their shop, thus making the distinction between shop and home minimal.

The average size of the shops is only 20 square metres; the smallest on the block, and their average rent is between 3000 to 5000 sucres per month, which is also the lowest on the block. Forty-three percent of the owners reported that their main supply source was the markets in the historic centre for food produce, and 29% said they acquired supplies from wholesale outlets in other parts of the city. It is likely that they pay higher prices for their goods than do larger-scale stores because unlike large supermarkets and other large stores, they do not have the capital or contacts to buy in bulk directly from producers (Tokman, in Bromley, 1979, p.1193).

Like the larger-scale stores on the block, the smaller-scale ones average nine customers per hour at peak periods of the day, such as just before lunch or supper. These customers are mostly from the immediate neighbourhood; 75% live or work in the historic centre, and the rest of the customers said that they were just passing by when they decided to enter the shop. A study in Santiago, Chile (Tokman, in Bromley, 1979) comparing small shops with larger supermarkets, shows that it is the local clinetele which allows the small neighbourhood stores to compete with the large supermarkets. As mentioned earlier, the large supermarkets of the upper-circuit economy have the advantage of bulk buying, large amounts of capital and stock and a complex labour and financial structure. However, the study showed that 50% of lower-income people make daily food purchases, mostly because their irregular, unstable incomes do not allow for advance bulk buying (p.1190). In comparison, almost all higher-income people receive monthly salaries, and all of them purchase food on a monthly or weekly basis. Because the low-income customers that go to small neighbourhood shops make frequent small purchases, these shops must be accessible at all times; so they are open every day, all day in order to make a profit.

Sales per month average about 30,000 to 40,000 sucres in the smaller-scale shops. After the cost of the goods, rent, and other operating expenses are deducted, the operator's income is not likely to be above the official

minimum wage.

8.2.2.4. Food Outlets

The five food outlets on the block include three restaurants and two snack cafes, all of which are oriented towards the local clientele. All of the restaurant owners mentioned the many customers in the area as the prime reason for operating in this particular block. It is a fairly good location for food sales because of the large number of customers generated by the Ipiales market in the next block, as well as neighbourhood patrons. Almost half of the customers sampled (49%) lived or worked within five blocks of the restaurants, and another 29% were people passing by, such as shoppers, travellers waiting for a bus, or people who had come to visit a friend in the area.

Like the larger-scale stores, the more lucrative restaurants are operated by male non-residents who have an advantage over local residents either in terms of initial capital, experience, or connections. The two most profitable restaurants on the block are both operated by non-resident men, and one makes over 100,000 sucres per month (there is no exact figure available for the other restaurant). An example of this class of restaurant is the "cebecheria" which sells seafood. The coastal-born owner migrated to Quito five years ago, and using his connections on the coast started a seafood restaurant in the working-class district in southern Quito. Profits from that first store enabled him to open this second restaurant here in the centre with three

paid employees.

The smaller, less-profitable restaurants are more often operated by women with the help of family members; in two cases, the women's husbands assist in serving customers and cleaning, and in the other case the woman's daughter helps her. Average gross monthly sales for these three businesses is only about 30,000 sucres. An example of this is the woman who has the small snack bar in House #16. She originally began selling banana pancakes in the corner of her husband's shoe-repair shop in the next block, about a year ago. Finding that she could earn additional income for their family of three teen-aged girls this way, she decided to expand. She now rents the wide entrance hallway of the house in which they live, and has invested in a large frying stove for the pancakes and for french-fries. She also has a table and chairs for customers to occupy. Her daughters help her when they are not in school. She is doing quite well, with numerous regular customers and many people passing by in the afternoons who stop for a snack.

The food outlets presently in operation on the block are relatively new, with an average age of one and a half years. The newness of the restaurants is probably an example of the phenomenon mentioned earlier; it is not difficult to start a small restaurant, and need for additional income is great. However, extensive competition results in small profit margins and frequent failure. The slightly larger-scale restaurants are a new type of restaurant on the

block and possibly connected to the trend towards more profitable, large-scale, commercial activities.

The food outlets are tied with the producer activities for the largest average area per business (29 square metres), and have the second highest rents on the block, 6,000 to 7,500 per month. Four out of five restaurants get their supplies from food markets in the centre, usually going early in the morning to buy the food for the day. Preparation is done in small kitchens with basic equipment and the menus are limited to one or two dishes daily.

At peak hours, around meal times, the restaurants have an average of 11 customers per hour, which is quite high on the block. The majority of these customers (70%) live or work within 10 blocks of the restaurants and the remainder are people who come to the area for shopping or other purposes, and stop for something to eat.

Like the service businesses, the food outlets are providing a similar service to ones found in the upper circuit, but without either the capital-intensive techniques or the high prices, and, and to repeat, they serve mainly a local clientele.

8.2.2.5. Wholesale Outlets

The wholesale paper store is the largest and most profitable business enterprise on the case study block. It is also the only business that has some upper-circuit characteristics.

The paper outlet has has been in operation for 15 years, one of the longest on the block. Paying over 30,000 sucres in rent per month, it occupies the main floor of House #1, an area of about 100 square metres. The front rooms are used for display and sales, and the back rooms for storage, cutting, packaging, and book-keeping. There is very little paper produced in Ecuador, and none in Quito (Teran, 1984, p.100), therefore 80% of the paper used by printers in the city is imported (Gomez, 1980, p.119). The paper outlet on the case study block imports its stock in bulk from manufacturers in Peru and Colombia.

The store has the highest level of organization of all the block businesses. It is the only one to have a specified manager with six employees. One of these employees works as the secretary and book-keeper; a degree of specialization unknown in other block businesses. The manager-owner lives in the northern, better-off residential district, as is common of the more lucrative local businesses. The employees are from scattered areas of the city: two from the centre, three from the working-class districts of the south, and one from the north.

The manager reported that the shop was located in this block because this was the sector of the city for wholesale paper outlets. This is probably because Quito's printing companies, mainly small presses, are concentrated in the historic centre (Gomez, 1984, p.119). The only other ones in the city are the large newspaper printers located in the

southern industrial zone

There is a steady stream of about 15 customers per hour in the store. Of the block businesses only the bakery has more customers than the paper store. Seventy-four percent of the customers are employees or owners of printing shops. The remaining one-quarter of the customers are a vendors who resell the goods elsewhere in the city, and teachers and students buying for educational purposes. The majority (70%) come from the historic centre, and the rest come half from the north and half from outside of Quito. The most common reason (43%) reported by customers for coming to this particular shop is that the products are cheap. Other frequently mentioned reasons were that the store was near their work, and that they were regular customers with the paper outlet, and so could receive credit.

The paper wholesale store seems to be a borderline upper-circuit operation. It has a much more complex employee and financial structure, a much larger volume of stock and sales than any of the other businesses on the block, and it's paper stock comes from upper-circuit producers. In many ways it more closely resembles the upper-circuit businesses of the northern sector of the city. However, it serves mainly small lower-circuit printing shops, and it's fairly run-down locale, and informal credit for regular customers suggest that it is on the continumum between the upper and lower circuit economies. (Plate 7.2 shows the interior of the house where the paper outlet is located; a customer can

be seen walking out, followed by an employee carrying his purchases.)

The wholesale jeans outlet sells goods produced by a Peruvian manufacturer. While Ecuador, and the Quito region in particular, has a tradition of textile production, the industry has not developed much beyond the production of bulk cloth and artisan clothing, and therefore does not fulfill the country's need for ready-made clothing (Gomez, 1984, p.118). Thus, a great deal of manufactured clothing is imported from Colombia and, as in this case, Peru.

Located in their second floor residence, a young couple and a relative run the business, mostly selling to other vendors in various parts of the city. In a country where the consumer retail distribution network is not very developed, small distributors such as this one provide coverage of large market areas at low cost and low risk to the upper-circuit producer. The mother company is relieved of the risks involved in retail distribution by these agents who put up their own deposits for the goods (Moser, in Bromley, 1979, p.1056).

8.2.2.6. Textile Workshops

The four textile workshops mentioned earlier, are quite different from the other artisan workshops on the block. Located in the upper back rooms of the buildings, the workshops consist of several industrial sewing machines operated by family members.

Plate 8.1: Facing the case study block at the corner of Olmedo and Cotopaxi streets.

Plate 8.2: Looking east from the top of House #8; the monastery wall is on the left, part of Ipiales market in the centre, and El Tejar neighbourhood up the hill in the background.

Two of these workshops are within the actual residences of the families, and the other two are rented spaces separate from the operator's homes. Two of these are not registered with the authorities, in other words, they are illegal operations, and they refused to answer questions about their businesses. However, it is probable that they do the same kind of work as reported by the other workshops. They do piece work for upper-circuit textile factories. The factories supply them with the materials with which to do the specific tasks, and thus can get work done more cheaply because they do not have to pay textile union wages, and the factory avoids considerable overhead expenses. Wages in the lower circuit have been found to be one-half to one-quarter of those in the upper circuit for the same work (Barnerje, in Safa, p.178). This is one case where the link between the upper and the lower circuit is through labour services and not through the flow of goods.

8.3 Street Occupations and Domestic Employees

8.3.1 Street Occupations

The street commercial activities in the study area are extremely varied. There is a wide range of activities at which people earn their living in the doorways and on the sidewalks of this block. There is variation in these activities on a weekly and daily basis: some people come a few hours each day to work, others one day each week, etc.

The facilities used for these activities range from the person with a fixed rented space in an entrance hallway with a small booth, to the mobile vendor carrying the goods for sale on his or her back.

Using a classification system outlined by Bromley (1982, p.56-60) for the street occupations in Cali, Colombia, two basic groups of street activities can be identified on the block: retail distribution and services. The people involved in retail distribution include those selling food stuffs, manufactured and handcrafted goods, newspapers, and so on.

Following Bromley's classification, there are four types of street occupations which provide services: small-scale public transport, such as porters and cart-operators; personal services such as shoeshining, shoe repairs, and watch repairs; security services, including watchmen, and car-parking attendents; and gambling services, essentially those selling lottery tickets. All of these types of services are represented on the case study block except for the gambling services.

Bromley also identified a third group of street occupations which could be labelled partially or totally illegal, such as prostitution, theft, scavenging and begging. While there might possibly be people involved in these types of activities on the case study block, the author saw no evidence of them, nor heard any reference or mention of them from the block residents and workers.

Although a formal survey was not done, each of these workers was interviewed informally and a description of each activity follows.

8.3.1.1. Retail Distribution

The entrance hall of House #8 is rented to an Otavalan indian who sells textile products. The Otavalan indians are an industrious nation of weavers and textile-makers who live about 50 kilometres north of Quito. The man who rents this hallway buys products such as woven shirts, embroidered blouses, woven scarfs and ponchos, and knitted sweaters from the producers in his village and comes every day with his daughter by bus to the city to sell. They rent a space of about two by four square metres for approximately 1000 sucres per month, where they hang the goods for display for the people passing by. It has only been a month that they have been selling in this location and therefore it is difficult to say how well the business is going.

In the mornings there is a woman selling hot morocho a thick drink made from ground corn, in the hallway of House #11 to people on their way to work. She cooks on a small gas burner, selling the drink for about 15 sucres a cup and is always very busy.

Later, around 5 to 7 p.m., another woman and her daughter come to the same place to sell food to people passing by. The food consists of a piece of paper filled with finger-food, such as cooked potatoes, chunks of meat, and cooked beans. These women have been selling here for

quite a few years taking advantage of the large number of customers who pass by to and from the Ipiales market. They live further up the side of the Pichincha volcano in the residential area of El Tejar.

In the entrance hall of House #12 a man of about 35 years and his aged mother earn their living. They too live further up the hill about one kilometre away, but come to work here because of the large number of customers. They began renting this three square metre space about three months ago. The man has a small shoe repair service, which will be described in the section about people providing services on the block. On the other side of the hall, his mother sells and rents comic books. There is a bookshelf where the comics are displayed and a bench for those who want to rent a comicbook to read for 3 sucres.

There are also quite a number of vendors who come to sell on the sidewalk of the block (Plate 8.1). Regular vendors include: an old man making and selling small wind instruments, a woman selling avocados, a young girl selling onions, and a young couple selling potted plants. Mostly they sell food or small hand-made items. The majority of these vendors live in poorer neighbourhoods further up the hill, but come here to sell because of the large number of clients here. They do not have to pay any rent to sell on the sidewalk, although some shop owners do not like vendors in front of their stores and chase them away.

The descriptions of the street vendors on the case study block show several similarities and several differences between the block vendors and the approximately 16,000 street vendors in the city as a whole (Plan Quito, 1984, p.390).

Like vendors in the rest of the city, the street vendors in the study area are mainly from the so-called "secondary labour force"; this includes children, elderly people, and women taking care of household duties as well as supplementing family incomes. On the sample block 75% of the street vendors can be classified as from the secondary labour force.

Another similarity between sample block street vendors and those in the rest of the city, is that about one-third of the street vendors on the block have fixed posts where they sell (Plan Quito, 1984, p.389). This group includes those on the block who rent spaces in entrances and hallways. While the remainder do not have a specific rented or owned space, the majority of mobile vendors have specific spots along the street to which they repeatedly and regularly return.

Also as in the rest of the city, the number of vendors in the street varies according to the day and the time. Sunday the streets are almost completely empty (except when there is a special event, such as a festival, parade, demonstration, or sports event, in which case the number of vendors rises sharply). Beginning on Monday, the number of

vendors in the street increases daily, until it reaches a peak on Saturday (Bromley, 1979, p.1163). Peak selling times during the day are around mid-morning and mid-afternoon. However prepared-food vendors sell earlier in the morning and later in the afternoon and evening to take advantage of hungry passersby.

The differences between block vendors and those in the city as a whole, are mainly a result of the block's location. It is slightly away from the main commercial streets of the historic centre, located in a more mixed commercial and low-income residential area, and thus, the street vending conditions are quite different from those elsewhere. Other studies (ie: Bromley. 1979; Peattie, 1975) have shown that a large proportion of street vendors sell on commission or do piece-work product distribution for larger enterprises, such as cigarette, candy, and drink manufacturers, and magazine and newspaper publishers. However, almost all of the street vendors in the study area work independently and serve a much smaller local clientele. All of the vendors either make their own goods to sell (ie: wind instruments, prepared foods) or sell goods bought from wholesale markets (ie: vegetables, fruit, and plants).

Other studies of street vending have also shown the difficulty of entry into these jobs because of monopolies, the need for capital, and the regulations and restrictions of the municipalities (ie: Bromley, 1979; Peattie, 1975). However, the case study block is in a different position;

away from the main commercial streets in the historic centre, there is less competition and fewer restrictions so that it is easier to begin selling on the block. At the same time, the proximity of the Ipiales market means that there are quite a few customers passing by the block so vending is possible.

The other difference on the case study block is that the wide range of incomes recorded in the city as a whole, is not evident on the block. Being outside the most commercially-profitable areas the vendors on the block are all very low-income earners, with none of the prosperous street vendors found elsewhere.

8.3.1.2. People offering services

Of those in the lower circuit providing services on the case study block, probably the most numerous are the cargadores, or porters. The majority work carrying large bundles of merchandise and display tables for the merchants in the Ipiales market. Since many merchants have rented storage rooms or live in houses on the block, these cargadores are often seen here carrying huge loads early in the morning as the market is setting up for the day, and in the evenning around 6 p.m. when it is closing down. This is the type of work which is of easy access to those with few skills and little capital; all that is required is bodily strength and a piece of rope. Earnings are estimated at about 200 to 300 sucres per day, so that if steady work was available a porter would earn slightly below the official

government minimum monthly wage. Most of the porters live on the other side of the historic centre, around Ave. 24 de Mayo (See Figure 5.6), where rents are cheaper.

Many of these porters are indians who come from the sierra to work for a few weeks at a time, to supplement the meager income they gain from their small plots of land. The three porters who were interviewed, were from the province of Chimborazo in the central highlands, one of the poorest, least urbanized provinces in Ecuador. Studies in Mexico (Safa, 1982, p.45), Asia (Safa, 1982, p.62), and elsewhere, suggest that this is a type of "relay migration", in which one member of the household goes to work in the city for a period of time so the peasant household can continue agriculture and "maintain a level of living which might otherwise deteriorate" (Safa, 1982, p.62). This type of temporary migration mostly occurs among people from the poorest rural areas of Ecuador; it is a very common occurrence that husbands in rural families go to work in the larger cities while the wives struggle to care for the land and feed their families as they wait for remitances from their husbands. In this way the urban lower circuit, with opportunities to work as a porter, provides a "survival strategy" for Ecuador's poorest sector, the rural peasants.

Besides the porters who work for the merchants, there is one man who waits in the patio of the paper outlet for customers who need heavy packages of paper carried either to their stores or to their vehicles. Unlike the market porters

who are a very transitory group, this 60 year old man, has found full-time, stable work in the paper outlet patio without the competition found in the market, and has worked here for quite a few years. He earns about 100 to 200 sucres per day, slightly below the official minimum wage, and lives near Ave. 24 de Mayo, the cheapest residential area in the historic centre.

Also in the patio of the paper outlet, a 50 year old couple works sorting paper scraps according to types and colours. (The paper scraps can be seen in the corner of the patio in Plate 7.2, but the person sorting the paper is hidden behind the pillar.) They sell their sacks of paper scraps to a collection warehouse, which in turn, sells the paper to a factory which produces toilet paper. This couple is part of a much larger group of people involved in garbage picking in Quito. These pickers collect materials suitable for industrial recycling. In this way lower-circuit labour provides a service for upper-circuit industry. While no information is available specifically for Quito, it was found that in Cali, Colombia:

> The largest proportion of potentially saleable garbage is collected and started on its way by garbage pickers working on their own, and most of their production is destined for large factories. In the paper industry waste paper provides a third of raw material requirements, and some 60 percent of that waste paper comes from individual pickers. The earnings of the majority of pickers are about a third of the lowest wage paid by the major paper company, and they are neither assured of a fixed and regular income, nor enjoy employee and social security benefits. (Gilbert and Guglar, 1982, p. 75)

The couple sorting paper on the case study block seem to be

in much the same position as the paper pickers of Cali. They live in a low-income, working-class, residential area, La Magdelena, about 3 kilometres to the south of the historic centre, on the precarious slopes of Pichincha mountain. An advantage they have over street and dump garbage pickers, is the lack of competition (the paper outlet patio is clearly their private territory), and steady income (it is a regular source of paper scraps). The couple reported that they have been working here all day, five days a week, for the past three years. In this case of the paper pickers, the link between the upper and lower circuit is close; the lower-circuit workers provide a service for upper-circuit industry, recovering recycleable waste materials, at a fraction of the cost at which the upper circuit itself could.

Parking is allowed on Cotopaxi and Olmedo streets, and there are men who care for the parked cars. On one street there are 2 or 3 men who work shifts all day. They assist the drivers, mostly people coming from other parts of the city to the Ipiales market, to park, they wash the cars while the drivers are away, make sure nothing is stolen and assist the drivers in leaving. In return for these services, the driver pays the man about 15 sucres. Total daily earnings are between 100 and 200 sucres, less than the official minimum wage. Most of these men live in the area of Ave. 24 de Mayo, an indication of their low incomes.

These car attendents are part of a 55-member union organization of men who do this work throughout the historic centre. Unions are becoming increasingly common within lower-circuit labour, as workers see their potential for earning a living being threatened by the growing numbers of lower-circuit workers looking for work and by upper-circuit powers trying to control and restrict their activities (e.g.: Bromley, 1979; Peattie, 1975; Farrell, 1983). While caring for parked cars is an "easy entry" job, requiring no skills or capital, too many people working at this job in one area would result in no one earning enough for survival. Thus, the union in the historic centre ensures that the 55 men who work as car attendents are organized into work-shifts and are responsible for different streets. The union also prevents the entrance of new workers unless there is enough work available to support them, and it represents the interests of the workers in issues with various levels of government.

The last person providing a service among the street activities of the study area is the shoe-repairman who shares the hallway with his mother selling comicbooks. It is a very small-scale shoe-repair service, using a very limited number of tools: a stand for hammering shoes on, several leather working tools, and nails. Most of his clients are people passing by who need quick repairs done while they wait. Most repairs cost about 25 to 50 sucres, and he does not seem to have more than five clients per day, therefore

his total earnings are likely well below the official minimum wage. This street shoe-repairman provides a service similar to ones available in the regular businesses of the lower circuit and in the establishments of the upper circuit, however, by providing the service more accessibly and more quickly than these other businesses, he is able to get customers.

8.3.2 Domestic Servants

Only two families on the case study block employ domestic employees: those in House #3 and #14, the two traditional, upper-class families remaining on the block. The doctor's widow and her daughter in House #3 employ two women between the ages of 35 and 40 years old, one as a cook and the other as a housekeeper. Both live on the first floor of the house, while their employers live upstairs, which is the traditional arrangement of upper-class households in Quito. One of the employees lives with her 14-year-old daughter, and the other with her family of four. The landowner's widow in House #14 also employs a cook and a housekeeper. The two women, ages 40 and 18 years old, live with the cook's 4-year-old daughter in three rooms with a bathroom at the back of the yard.

While is was not possible to speak privately with these women, some idea about their lives and their work can be gathered from general information about domestic employees. The majority of domestic employees are women: a study in

Lima, Peru, showed 88% are women (Smith, 1978, p.571). Most of these women are unmarried (90% in the Lima study) (Smith, 1978, p.571). The contemporary norm is an unmarried, childless woman between the ages of 15 and 24 years (Smith, 1978, p.571) living in a single room in her employer's house. In this respect, the case study block seems unusual, because the children of the domestic employees live with them in their employers' homes, and because three out of four of the employees are between the ages of 30 and 40 years old. This seems to be a carry-over from the Nineteenth Century when the entire servant's family lived on the main floor of the house, and servants often stayed with a single employer for their whole lives. In newer upper-class residential districts in Quito, it is likely that domestic employees more closely follow the contemporary pattern; young, unmarried, childless women, working for several years for a particular employer before moving to a different job, or having a family of their own.

Writing twenty years ago, Nett (1966, p.442), suggested three main functions of domestic servants in households in Quito, and these remain applicable today. First, domestic employees accomplish services which the urban system does not provide, or provides inadequately, such as mail delivery, bill payment, and bureaucratic transactions. Thus, in an indirect way, the lower-circuit network covers the inefficiencies of the upper circuit, and saves the upper circuit the expense of providing the services. Second,

domestic employees perform work for which household technology is not available or is not customarily used, and which in lower-class households is usually performed by women, such as washing clothes, preparing foods, and cleaning. In a society where household tasks are essentially the responsiblity of women, and where household technology is largely unavailable and very expensive, the only way a woman can be freed of these tasks is to employ domestic servants to do them. Third, these employees do work which is culturally considered demeaning for upper-class people to do, such as carrying shopping baskets and packages, answering the door, and serving guests.

A fourth function of domestic employees is illustrated on the case study block. Both of these employers are elderly women unable to completely take care of themselves. In lower-class families, the elderly live with and are cared for by the younger generations, and in more affluent North America the elderly are cared for in senior citizens' homes. Ecuador, however, does not have special facilities for the elderly. Instead the upper-class elderly often live independently of their children (both of the elderly women on the block have several well-educated, high-income children), and are cared for by their domestic employees.

The official minimum salary for domestic employees in Ecuador is 5,400 sucres per month (Interview, July 11, 1985, Dept. de Salarios Minimos, Min. de Trabajo, Quito), plus a place to sleep and daily meals. Since the domestic employees

on the case study block receive living space for their families as well, it is likely that their salaries are slightly less than this minimum.

8.4 Summary of Economic Functions

The economic activities which occur in the study area are part of the lower-circuit economy located in the inner city of Quito. These activities include two basic types: the "regular" businesses located in rooms on the block, and the "street" activities.

The regular businesses are of two different functional types. First, there are the neighbourhood businesses which are small-scale enterprises serving local customers, such as the grocery stores, the restaurants, the artisanal production, and the services. These kinds of businesses are found in the upper circuit as well; however, on the case study block, these businesses are of a much smaller scale, and serve lower-income people. The second type of regular business on the block are those that are part of the lower-circuit central place function of the inner city. These are somewhat larger scale operations, that serve customers from all over the city, as well as acting as intermediaries in the distribution of goods to vendors from other parts of the city.

The textile workshops on the block do contract work for factories, and do not really fit into either of the categories described above. They represent a direct

utilization of lower-circuit labour by the upper circuit in order to reduce production costs.

The "street" economic activities include retail distribution and the provision of services. The people involved in these occupations mostly belong to the secondary labour force, in other words, they are children, elderly people, and women supplementing the family income, or they belong to the temporary labour force, such as students and seasonal migrants. While some street vendors are fairly prosperous, for the most part this work represents a strategy to supplement the total family income or a survival technique by those who have few skills or little capital. The street economic activities essentially provide goods and serves for the lower-income sectors.

There are basically three links between the lower circuit and the upper circuit economies that are evident on the case study block. Firstly, the lower circuit provides employment for those not absorbed by the upper circuit. Secondly, the lower-circuit market provides the consumer goods needed by the low-income population. Goods and services are cheaper in the lower circuit mostly because labour costs are lower than in the upper circuit as people work longer hours for less pay. Most lower-circuit workers, many low-level upper-circuit workers, and even some people from the "middle-class" occupations, have very low incomes and so the goods and services of the lower-circuit economy are essential. And thirdly, there are the lower-circuit

economic activities directly supporting the upper circuit. These include piece work done for factories, distribution and sale of manufactured goods, using supplies and equipment from the upper circuit, and fulfilling low-priority functions which are only worthwhile at an extremely low price, such as sorting garbage for recycling.

9. Conclusion

The purpose of this thesis was to explore the relationship between socio-economic setting and urban structure as evident in the Latin American inner city: what is the character and function of this zone, how does it fit into the larger urban system, and why does it take this particular form in Latin America. In order to investigate these issues, a detailed study was made of a single block in the inner city of Quito, Ecuador. The research consisted of secondary data collection, extensive observations and conversations, and interview surveys of the building owners, residents, business-operators, and clients in the study area. This chapter will review the major findings of this research, evaluate the significance and limitations of these results, and present some suggestions for future research.

9.1 Major Findings

The physical structure of Quito's inner city, with its grid of square blocks, narrow streets, and tightly built houses surrounding inner courtyards, was established during the Spanish Colonial period. Until the early decades of the Twentieth Century, this zone was a high status residential and commercial zone encircling the centre of the city where society's controlling powers: the government, the church, and the most important of the elite, were located. As Ecuador became incorporated into the world capitalist system, the city's power centre shifted to a new modern

central business district to the north, and the inner city began to decline in status as the elite residents and businesses moved to the northern sector of the city.

The analysis of the data collected in the study area suggests that the organization and function of the present inner city are best understood in the context of the two-circuit economy that exists in Latin America. The upper circuit is capital-intensive, and internationally-oriented, and uses modern methods, while the lower circuit is a labour-intensive and locally-oriented, and often uses traditional methods. The power of the elite is in the upper circuit, and the centre of the upper-circuit economy is the new central business district in Quito.

The inner city contains a mixture of residential and commercial land uses. While there remain a few elderly upper-class home-owners in the zone, this type of resident has now virtually disappeared. Today most of the buildings are owned by prosperous lower-circuit vendors, external landlords mainly interested in collecting rents, and businesspeople or "middle-class" people interested in renovating space for more profitable purposes. These large colonial houses have been sub-divided into one to three room rental units. The ground-floor rooms facing the street are used for commercial purposes, and the back and upper-floor rooms are used for residences and workshops. Lack of maintenance, low-incomes, and prospects of greater profits with renovations, result in mainly low-quality housing and

frequent crowding. Government interest in preserving this historic area has until now mostly focused on the outward appearance of the buildings with little regard for the internal living conditions.

The inner city functions as one of the two main low-income residential areas in the city (the other being the peripheral squatter settlements). Residents are of two types: (1) stable, long-time inhabitants who work within the area, and (2) more transient residents such as temporary workers, students, and recent migrants. Quito is the final destination of much of the rural-urban migration in the sierra region of Ecuador, and the inner city remains a key receptor for these urban newcomers. Some migrants only stay in the inner city until they are established in the urban system while others settle in the zone permanently. Because of the superior education opportunities which exist in Quito, there is also a continual flow of students to the city from the surrounding regions. Many of these students live in the inner city because the rents are relatively cheap and the majority of the city's educational institutions are located nearby. Approximately 40% of the study-area residents are classified as economically active. The majority work in the lower-circuit economy of the historic centre as vendors, shopkeepers, and artisans, or in low-level upper-circuit jobs, such as janitors, clerks, and guards, usually located in the new central business district.

The inner city has several important economic functions in the urban system. Although it is outside the upper circuit, the present research suggests that this zone is the centre of the lower-circuit economy. It is the location of most of the city's lower-circuit artisanal production, as well as the central distribution point for goods in the lower-circuit network. The city's largest markets and greatest concentrations of small lower-circuit retail and service shops, and of street vendors are located here. The inner city serves customers from all over the city as well as selling wholesale to lower-circuit vendors who sell elsewhere in the city. The goods sold are both lower-circuit products and upper-circuit manufactured products. These retail outlets provide cheap, easy access for upper-circuit manufacturers to the vast lower-class market. Another important economic activity of the inner city are the illegal, hidden textile workshops that do piece work for factories, providing cheap labour for the upper circuit.

9.2 Evaluation of Results

The findings of this study are significant in that until now very little research has been done specifically on the Latin American inner city since other, more dramatically obvious, urban areas such as the squatter settlements, have attracted much of the research attention, and because it was assumed that Latin American inner cities were the same as North American ones.

The findings of this study present evidence that the Latin American inner city is a key part in the functioning of the urban system: fufilling low-income residential needs and labour requirements of both the upper and lower circuits, producing lower-circuit goods, and acting as a central place in the lower-circuit economy.

The present study also suggests that although the its character and function are in some ways similar to comparable zones in North American cities, the different Latin American socio-economic context results in some distinct differences. Similarities to the North American counterpart include: a movement of the elite out of central-city residences and their replacement by low-income inhabitants; a capitalist land market that dictates high rents near the city centre and results in high-density, poor-quality housing; land-use changes from residential to commercial as owners seek greater profits; and a function as an entrance and assimilation district for migrants to the city. However, unlike North American inner-cities, the physical structure of Quito's inner city has its origins in the Spanish colonial period; this created a densely built-up environment of narrow streets and compact buildings and courtyards which influences the organization and use of space. And the basic function of this zone is different because dependent capitalist development has resulted in two urban economic circuits, and the inner city, unlike North American inner cities, is the hub of the dynamic

lower-circuit economy.

Awareness of the two-circuit economic system is a key for understanding Latin American urban structure. While much research has focused on the composition and inter-relations of the two circuits, little research has been done on the urban spatial organization of the two circuits. Probably the most significant finding of this study regarding the economic organization of Latin American cities, is that the inner city seems to function as a central place for the lower-circuit economy of the city, and is the main channel through which upper-circuit goods are sold in the lower-circuit network.

The present findings also support the growing evidence that the urban lower classes are not marginal to the socio-economic system but rather, a vital element in its functioning. Many of the residents of the study area work in the upper-circuit economy and most consume products from upper-circuit producers. Many of the businesses distribute or repair upper-circuit products. The inner city also provides cheap housing and necessary consumer goods to support a poorly paid labour force. Without these links to the lower classes, the upper-circuit economy and the elite that benefit from it would lose a source of cheap labour, a vast buying market, and a support system that allows the vast lower class to survive.

The results of this study were limited both because the area covered was too small, and because it was too large.

Since the research focused on a single case study block, variations throughout the inner city could not be detected. On the other hand, since the study attempted to analyse all of the many structures and activities which take place within that small area, all of the phenomena could be studied in great detail.

9.3 Future Research

Several possible areas of future research can be suggested on the basis of the findings and limitations of the present study.

First, this study has examined the inner city at one moment in its history, presenting a fairly static representation of its character and functions. However, the inner-city zone of Quito is currently experiencing some major changes. Favourable attitudes towards historical preservation and neighbourhood renewal seem to be growing, and interest in commercial redevelopment is increasing. Whether these changes will have positive or negative affects on the present residents and their survival strategies is difficult to determine. It would be useful to examine the process of change in function and character which are presently taking place in the inner city, and research ways in which these developments could be guided to benefit the people of the inner city.

Second, although this study attempted to focus on a small area and examine it in detail, it was impossible to go

into as much detail as was hoped because of the vast number of subjects which exist in the small area. Future research could focus on specific phenomena in the inner city, such as shoe-makers, corner-grocery stores, or homemakers (who were not discussed at all), and examine the characteristics and functions of these specific subjects within the urban system.

Finally, this thesis has touched on an area of study which is little understood at the present: the spatial organization of the lower-circuit economy. An important topic for further study will be detailed analyses of the spatial structure of the lower-circuit network in the Latin American city.

These are a few of the possible areas for future research that arise from the present study, and that could increase our understanding of the structure and functioning of the Latin American city.

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APPENDIX A. Variables Used in Study Area Selection

Variables for Study Area Selection

Block Number	Number of Residences	Number of Houses	Number of Inhabitants	Circum-ference (metres)
1	145	21	672	500
2	180	24	688	425
3	168	31	763	400
4	244	20	958	425
5	251	23	678	412
6	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
7	79	16	301	312
8	143	23	559	375
9	141	13	236	362
10	140	17	552	365
11	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
12	111	16	423	350
13	290	18	366	350
14	198	18	646	350
15	121	19	539	325
16	69	22	409	325
17	100	23	333	350
18	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
19	126	23	407	375
20	217	23	673	435

Block Number	Number of Residences	Number of Houses	Number of Inhabitants	Circumference (metres)
21	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
22	215	31	849	500
23	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
24	184	13	761	500
25	70	21	226	362
26	177	8	724	775
27	141	39	643	562
28	156	26	586	435
29	143	32	619	425
30	279	56	1241	875
31	142	26	557	350
32	127	38	585	325
33	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
34	135	25	566	325
35	61	17	252	300
36	214	18	723	362
37	140	18	605	325
38	260	14	260	237
39	295	36	358	550
40	57	22	231	325
41	106	30	503	325
42	44	11	261	212
43	16	14	268	237

Block Number	Number of Residences	Number of Houses	Number of Inhabitants	Circum-ference (metres)
44	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
45	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
46	103	29	n.a.	412
TOTAL	6853	896	20,931	

n.a.= not available

Source for Population Data: Convenio Report, 1979.

Source for Areal Data: Author Estimates.

Block Numbers refer to numbers on Figure 3.1.

APPENDIX B. Survey of Building Owners

Encuesta de las Casas

*Casa Numero:*____ *Fecha:*_____

*Dirección:*_____ *Encuestador:*_____

Parte A. Preguntas para el Dueño

1. *¿Hace cuántos años esta Ud. en posesión de esta casa?*____ *años*

2. *¿Cómo adquirió Ud. esta casa?* ☐ 1. *compra*
☐ 2. *herencia*
☐ 3. *Otro-Especificar:*_____

3. *¿Cuál es su ocupación?* _____

4. *¿Cuántos años tiene Ud.?*____*años*

5. *¿Ud. vive en esta casa?* ☐ 1. *sí*
☐ 2. *no*

6. *¿Si no vive Ud. en la casa, dónde vive?* ☐ 1. *Centro*
☐ 2. *Sur*
☐ 3. *Norte*
☐ 4. *Otro-Especificar:*_____

7. *Usos del Espacio*
(Anotar numero de unidades de cada uso)

Viviendas ☐
Negocios ☐
Espacios de uso comun
Baños ☐
Patios ☐
Terrazas ☐
Lavaderos ☐
*Otros - Especificar:*_____ ☐

8. *Edad aproximada de la casa:*____*años*

9. *¿Con qué frecuencia esta la casa pintada?*

a) *La Fachada:* ☐ 1. *cada año*
☐ 2. *cada 2 - 5 años*
☐ 3. *cada 5 - 10 años*
☐ 4. *más de 10 años*

b) *Los Interiores:* ☐ 1. *cada año*
☐ 2. *cada 2 - 5 años*
☐ 3. *cada 5 - 10 años*
☐ 4. *más de 10 años*

10. *Servicios:* ☐ 1. *luz/electricidad*
☐ 2. *agua corriente*
☐ 3. *alcantarillado*
☐ 4. *telefono*

11. *Pedir permiso para encuestar la casa y hacer un diagrama de la casa.*

Encuesta de las Casas - pagina 2

Casa Numero:____

Parte B. Anotar el encuestador

1. Construcción: a) Estructura
- ☐ 1. madera
- ☐ 2. hormigon
- ☐ 3. vared soportado
- ☐ 4. Otro-Especificar:_____

b) Mamposteria
- ☐ 1. ladrillo
- ☐ 2. adobe
- ☐ 3. bloque
- ☐ 4. madera
- ☐ 5. Otro-Especificar:_____

c) Pisos
- ☐ 1. madera
- ☐ 2. cemento
- ☐ 3. tierra
- ☐ 4. Otro-Especificar:_____

P-patio
G-around floor
U-upper floors

d) Techo
- ☐ 1. teja
- ☐ 2. abseso cemento
- ☐ 3. losa (flagstone)
- ☐ 4. Otro-Especificar:_____

e) Adiciones a la casa original
- ☐ 1. no hay
- ☐ 2. nuevos partes/secciones
- ☐ 3. cuartos en los patios y pasillos
- ☐ 4. división de cuartos
- ☐ 5. Otro-Especificar:_____

2. Condición Física: a) La Fachada

i) Condición de pintura
- ☐ 1. buena
- ☐ 2. regular
- ☐ 3. mala

ii) Condición de ventanas
- ☐ 1. buenas
- ☐ 2. hasta un cuarto rotas o faltan
- ☐ 3. hasta un medio rotas o faltan
- ☐ 4. más de medio...

iii) Necesidad de reparaciones mayores:
- ☐ 1. no hay - buena condición
- ☐ 2. puertas y entradas
- ☐ 3. paredes
- ☐ 4. techo
- ☐ 5. Otro-Especificar:_____

b) Espacios de uso comun

i) Condición de pintura
- ☐ 1. buena
- ☐ 2. regular
- ☐ 3. mala

ii) Condición de ventanas
- ☐ 1. buenas
- ☐ 2. hasta 1/4 rotas o faltan
- ☐ 3. hasta 1/2 rotas o faltan
- ☐ 4. más de 1/2...

Encuesta de las Casas - pagina 3

Casa Numero: _____

iii) Necesidad de reparaciones mayores:
- ☐ 1. no hay - buena condición
- ☐ 2. puertas y pasillos
- ☐ 3. paredes
- ☐ 4. cielos y techos
- ☐ 5. pisos
- ☐ 6. Otro-Especificar: _____

3. Falta de luz del sol en el interior
- ☐ 1. si - falta sol
- ☐ 2. no - hay sol

4. Existencia de espacio abierto
- ☐ 1. si - hay bastante espacio (patios, etc.)
- ☐ 2. no - todo construido

Parte C. Diagrama de la Casa

Encuesta de Habitantes — Fecha: — Encuestador:

¿Casa Numero: ____ Dirección: ____ Vivienda Numero: ____

Parte A. Habitantes Adultos (18 años o más)

Habitantes	Sexo	Edad	Relación	Nacimiento	Años de Educación	Ocupación	Trabajadores				Lugar de Trab.		Transporte
			Esposo, Hijo/Hija, Pariente, Otro	Quito, Pichincha, La Sierra, La Costa, Otro	Ninguna, Primaria, Secundaria, Tecnico, Universidad	Obrero, Artesano, Vendedor Amb., Transportista, Emp. Publico, Emp. Fin., Emp. Domestico, Profesional, Estudiante, Ama de Casa, Jubilado, Otro	Permanente, Temporal, Cuenta Propia, Sin Remun., Otro	Rango de Salario: menos de $900, $901-$1499, $1500-$2099, $2100-$2699, $2700-$3299, $3300-$3899, $3900-$4499, $4500 y mas			Centro, Sur, Norte, Otro		a pie, en bus, auto propio, otro

Adultos continuado - Estudiantes

Habitante No.	Asistencia: Primaria, Secundaria, Tecnico/Tecn. Universidad, Otro	Lugar: Centro, Sur, Norte	Transporte: a pie, en bus, auto propio, otro	Tiempo de Viaje: menos de 15 min, 15-30 minutos, 31-60 minutos, mas de una hora

Parte B. Habitantes Menores (12 años o menos)

Habitante	Edad	Sexo	Asistencia Escuela: si, no	Horario Escuela: mañana, tarde	Trabaja: si, no	Tipo de Trabajo: Pariente, Ninguno, Vend. Amb., Otro

Encuesta de Habitantes - pagina 2

Casa Numero:_____ Vivienda No.:_____

Parte C. Preguntas Generales

1. ¿Cuántos cuartos tiene la vivienda?____cuartos

2. ¿Cuántos metros cuadrados (m^2) tiene la vivienda?____m^2

3. ¿Qué es la tenencia de la vivienda?
   - ☐ 1. propia
   - ☐ 2. arrendada
   - ☐ 3. anticrisis
   - ☐ 4. Otro-Especificar:_____

4. ¿Cuánto paga Uds. de arriendo por mes?
   - ☐ 1. Gratis/Propia
   - ☐ 2. Menos de 1000 sucres
   - ☐ 3. 1001 - 2000
   - ☐ 4. 2001 - 3000
   - ☐ 5. 3001 - 4000
   - ☐ 6. 4001 - 5000
   - ☐ 7. 5001 - 6000
   - ☐ 8. 6001 - 7000
   - ☐ 9. 7001 - 8000
   - ☐ 10. 8001 - 9000
   - ☐ 11. 9001 - 10,000
   - ☐ 12. 10,001 o más

5. La cocina es
   - ☐ 1. privada - cuarto separado
   - ☐ 2. privada - dentro de los cuartos de vivienda
   - ☐ 3. privada - afuera
   - ☐ 4. uso comun
   - ☐ 5. no tiene cocina

6. El baño es
   - ☐ 1. privado
   - ☐ 2. uso comun

7. Hay agua corriente
   - ☐ 1. dentro de la habitación
   - ☐ 2. fuera de la habitación
   - ☐ 3. no hay

8. El lavadero es
   - ☐ 1. privado
   - ☐ 2. uso comun
   - ☐ 3. no hay

9. ¿Cuántos cuartos no tienen ventanas?_____ cuartos

10. ¿Hay importantes reparaciones necesarias dentro de la vivienda?
    - ☐ 1. pintura
    - ☐ 2. ventanas
    - ☐ 3. pisos
    - ☐ 4. paredes
    - ☐ 5. cielo
    - ☐ 6. puertas
    - ☐ 7. Otro-Especificar:_____

11. ¿Porqué viven Uds. aquí?
    - ☐ 1. arriendo barato
    - ☐ 2. cerca del trabajo
    - ☐ 3. cerca de escuels y lugares culturales
    - ☐ 4. cerca de rutas de transporte público
    - ☐ 5. escases de vivienda en otros partes
    - ☐ 6. centralidad de ubicación
    - ☐ 7. Otro-Especificar:_____

Encuesta de Habitantes - pagina 3

Casa Numero:_____ Vivienda No.:_____

12. ¿Dónde compran la mayoria de sus alimentos?

- ☐ 1. Mercado San Francisco
- ☐ 2. Mercado San Roque Viejo
- ☐ 3. Mercado San Roque Nuevo
- ☐ 4. Tiendas en el barrio
- ☐ 5. Supermercados en el norte
- ☐ 6. Otro-Especificar:_____

13. ¿Dónde compra su familia la mayoria de su ropa?

- ☐ 1. Ipiales - El Tejar
- ☐ 2. Tiendas en el barrio y el centro
- ☐ 3. Tiendas en el norte
- ☐ 4. Otro-Especificar:_____

APPENDIX D. Survey of Businesses

Encuesta de Negocios

(Preguntas para el dueño)

Fecha: _____

Encuestador _____

1. Nombre del Negocio: _____

2. Dirección: _____

3. Categoría - ☐ 1. Resturante
☐ 2. Artesanía/producción
☐ 3. Tienda
☐ 4. Bodega
☐ 5. Servicio
☐ 6. Otro-Especificar: _____

4. ¿Cuántos metros cuadrados (m^2) tiene el negocio? ___ m^2

5. ¿Qal función cumple Ud. (el dueño)? ☐ 1. trabaja por cuenta propia
☐ 2. trabaja con asistentes
☐ 3. gerente del trabajo
☐ 4. Otro-Especificar: _____

6. ¿Dónde vive Ud. (el dueño)? ☐ 1. Centro - el mismo edificio
☐ 2. Centro - la misma manzana
☐ 3. Centro - otro lugar
☐ 4. Sur (al sur del Panecillo)
☐ 5. Norte (al norte de El Ejido)

7. ¿Cómo viaja-Ud. (el dueño) al trabajo? ☐ 1. a pie
☐ 2. en bus
☐ 3. en auto privado
☐ 4. Otro-Especificar: _____

8. ¿Cuánto tiempo demora el viaje? ☐ 1. 15 minutos o menos
☐ 2. 16 - 30 minutos
☐ 3. 31 - 60 minutos
☐ 4. más de una hora

9. ¿Dónde nacio Ud. (el dueño)? ☐ 1. Quito
☐ 2. Pichincha
☐ 3. La Sierra
☐ 4. La Costa
☐ 5. Otro-Especificar: _____

10. ¿Cuántos años vive Ud. (el dueño) aqui en Quito? ___ años

11. ¿Cuántos años esta operando en esta lugar? ___ años

12. ¿Cuánto paga Ud. de arriendo por mes? ☐ 1. Propio/Gratis
☐ 2. 1 - 2500 sucres
☐ 3. 2501 - 5000
☐ 4. 5001 - 7500
☐ 5. 7501 - 10,000
☐ 6. 10,000 o más

Encuesta de Negocios - pagina 2

Negocio: _____

13. ¿Porqué ubicó Ud. su negocio aquí?
- ☐ 1. vive cerca de aquí
- ☐ 2. cerca de lugares de abastecimiento
- ☐ 3. arriendo barato
- ☐ 4. muchos clientes aquí
- ☐ 5. Otro-Especificar: _____

14. ¿Cuál es el promedio del valor de las ventas por mes? (sin tomar en cuenta los gastos)
- ☐ 1. menos de 10,000 sucres
- ☐ 2. 10,001 - 30,000
- ☐ 3. 30,001 - 50,000
- ☐ 4. 50,001 - 70,000
- ☐ 5. 70,001 - 90,000
- ☐ 6. 90,001 - 100,000
- ☐ 7. 100,001 o más

15. ¿Dónde se abastece Ud. principalmente?
- ☐ 1. Mercados Locales (en el centro)
- ☐ 2. Mercados Mayoristas
- ☐ 3. Comerciantes Mayoristas
- ☐ 4. Fabricas
- ☐ 5. Artesanos
- ☐ 6. Importadores
- ☐ 7. Otro-Especificar: _____

16. ¿En qué parte de la ciudad se ubica su principal proveedor?
- ☐ 1. Centro - dentro de 5 manzanas de aquí
- ☐ 2. Centro - fuera de 5 manzanas de aquí
- ☐ 3. Sur (al sur del Paneçillo)
- ☐ 4. Norte (al norte de El Ejido)

17. ¿Cuántos empleados trabajan aquí? ____ empleados

18. ¿Dónde viven los empleados? (Ponga el numero que viven en cada área)
- ☐ 1. Centro - el mismo edificio
- ☐ 2. Centro - la misma manzana
- ☐ 3. Centro - otro lugar
- ☐ 4. Sur (al sur del Panecillo)
- ☐ 5. Norte (al norte de El Ejido)

19. ¿Cuales son los basicos equipos de producción? (Pregunta para los lugares de producciónsolamente)

_____

20. Pedir permiso para encuestar algunos clientes.

APPENDIX E. Survey of Clients

Encuesta de Clientes

Fecha: _____

Negocio: _____ Hora: _____

Dirección: _____ Encuestador: _____

1. ¿Dónde vive Ud.?
   - ☐ 1. Centro - dentro de 5 manzanas (
   - ☐ 2. Centro - fuera de 5 manzanas
   - ☐ 3. Sur (al sur del Panecillo)
   - ☐ 4. Norte (al norte de El Ejido)
   - ☐ 5. Fuera de Quito - Especificar: _____

2. ¿Dónde trabaja Ud.?
   - ☐ 1. Centro - dentro de 5 manzanas de aquí
   - ☐ 2. Centro - fuera de 5 manzanas de aquí
   - ☐ 3. Sur (al sur del Panecillo)
   - ☐ 4. Norte (al norte de El Ejido)
   - ☐ 5. Fuera de Quito
   - ☐ 6. no trabaja fuera de la casa

3. ¿Cuál es su ocupación? _____

4. ¿Porqué vinó Ud. aquí para comprar?
   - ☐ 1. calidad de bienes o servicios
   - ☐ 2. precios baratos
   - ☐ 3. ubicado cerca de su vivienda
   - ☐ 4. ubicado cerca de su trabajo
   - ☐ 5. Otro-Especificar: _____

5. ¿Cómo vinó Ud. aquí?
   - ☐ 1. a pie
   - ☐ 2. en bus
   - ☐ 3. auto privado
   - ☐ 4. Otro-Especificar: _____